

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Vol. V. Part I.

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,

Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Vol. V. Part I.

Published under the Orders of the Government of
Travancore

Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Travancore

with 5 plates

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,

Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.



TRIVANDRUM:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS,
1924.

All Rights Reserved

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME V—PART I.

No.		Page.
1.	The rock-cut cave at Kaviyur	1
2.	Kaviyur inscription of Kali 4052	6
3.	do. Ka'i 4051	7
4.	Copper-plate record of Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945	„
5.	Ramavarmayasobhushanam and Vasulakshmikalyanam	18
6.	Balamarttandavarman's record of Kollam 924	26
7-8.	Cheramangalam records of Jat. Sundarasola-Pandya	28
9.	An inscription from Tiruvanvandur	31
10.	Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman	33
11.	Peruneyil inscription of the 11th cent.	34
12.	do. of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari	37
13.	Quilon inscription of Kollam 278	40
14.	do. Kollam 513	46
15.	do. Kollam 516	47
16.	Tiruvelunnannur Record of Vira Kodaivarman: Kollam 711	52
17.	do. do. Kollam 715	„
18.	do. of Vira Kerala Ramavarman	53
19.	do. do. Kollam 793	54
20-21.	Two records dated in Kollam 878	55-7
22.	A record dated in Kollam 839	59
23.	do. in Kollam 240?	60
24.	Kilimanur record of Kollam 343	63
25.	Tiruvidangodu inscription of Kollam 865	86
26.	do. of Kollam 628	90

LIST OF PLATES.

VOLUME V—PART I.

No.		To face page.
1.	View of the rock-cut cave at Kaviyur	4
„	Detail of sculpture in three of its panels	„
2.	Copper-plate record of Muttu-Ramalinga-Setupati	14
3.	Tiruvanvandur inscription	32
4.	Peruneyil inscription of the 11th cent.	35
5.	do. of Kulasekhara-Koyi'a Bhikari	39



No. 1.—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyūr.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Quilon Dn.

“Besides the Siva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however.”

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast, but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarmā I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Tirunāvukkaraiyar) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmuṇḍūr, Śiyamaṅgalam, Mahēndravāḍi¹ and Duḷāvanūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुममलोहमसुखं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्मापितन्तृपेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।²

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles ‘*Vichitrachitta*’ (the original-minded) and ‘*Chitrakārapuli*’ (*chaityakārapuli*? the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

1. Compare: कारितं गुणभरेण विदार्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 153.)

2. *Mahēndravarmā Inscription*, page 2.

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar; and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *maṇḍapa* in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Bezvada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahendra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan, show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar ungainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2' in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions; *i. e.* they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *viṣṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather uncouth proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar-chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above; but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some puranic theme Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahendravarman's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *liṅga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

1. *Ibid.* page 6.

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

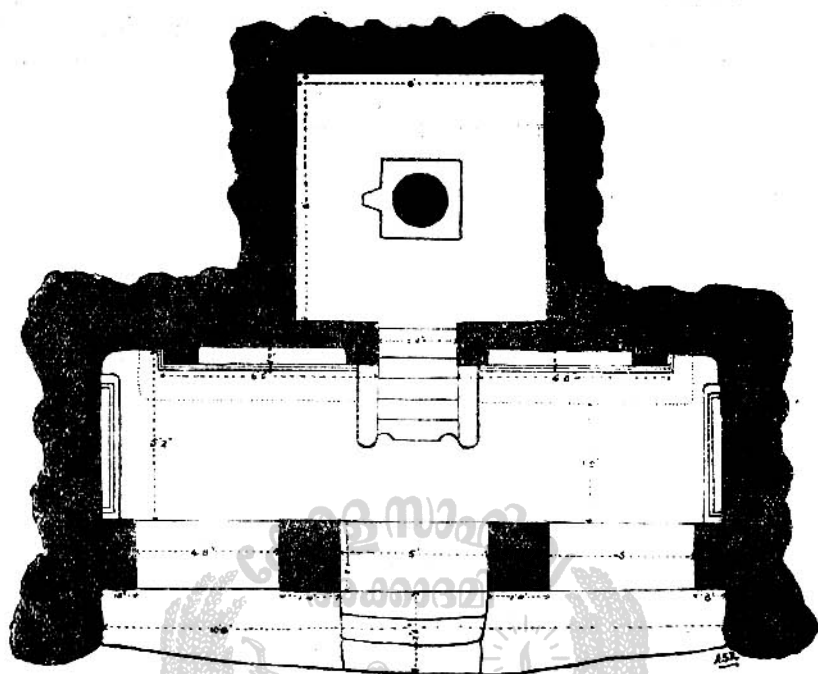


Fig. 1.

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15' wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding cocoanut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah $2\frac{1}{2}'$ wide unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is 19' 8" broad and 8 $\frac{1}{2}'$ high.

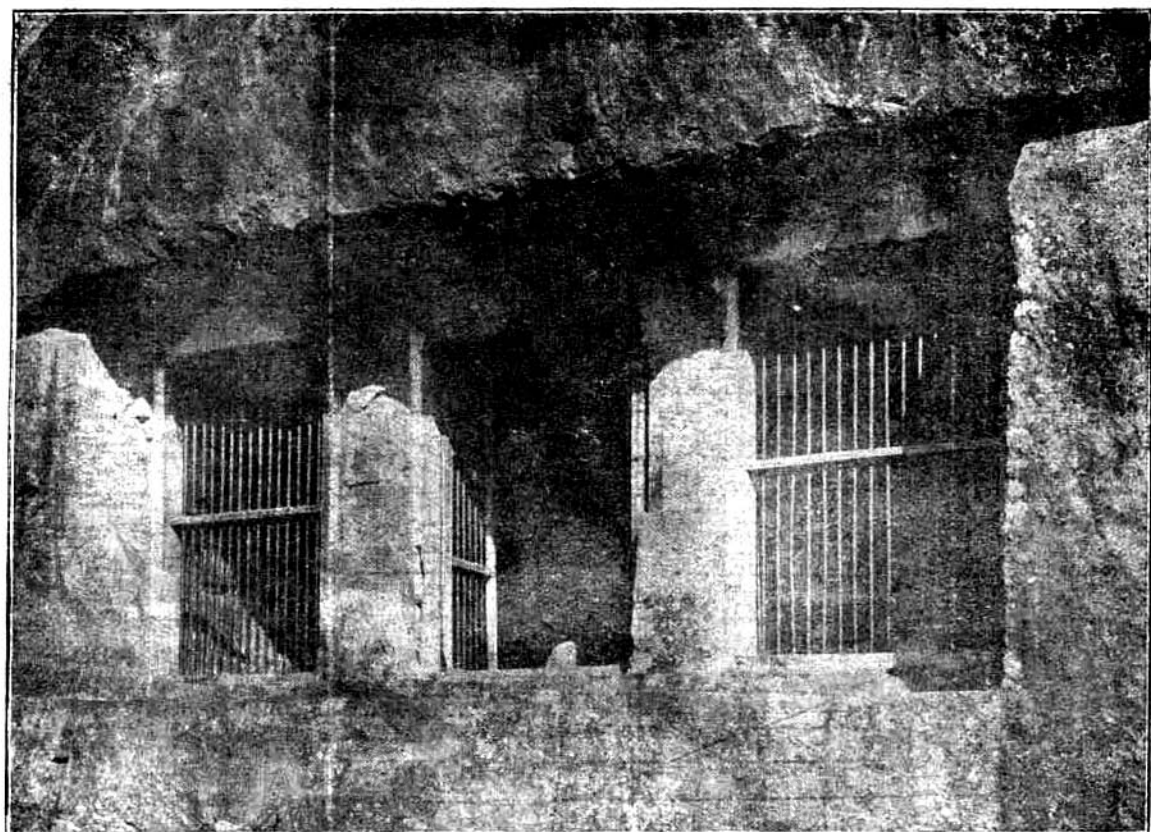
Two pillars 8' 8" in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each 5' broad, while that on the proper right is

slightly smaller, being only 4' 8". The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1' 7" by 2' 2" and is 1' 4" in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1' 10" by 2' 2" and 2' 10" in height. The octagonal shaft is 3' 3" high and its facets vary from 7" to 9" in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2' 3" deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8" in projection and the other nearly 10".

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8' each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *linga* whose crude *yōni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jambs and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19' 8" by 5' and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6' 5" broad and 6' 3" high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11" broad and 6' 3" high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahēndravārman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no *yajñōpavīta* and the ornaments that adorn him are the *karnakundalā*, the *hrīmālā*, the *udarabandha*, the *bāhuvalaya*, and the *ūrusūtra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jaṭāmakuta*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his calling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇeśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Ariṭṭapatti in the Mēlūr taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇeśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagriha*. As for the individual with the



peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *ya-jñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *gūṇḍi*, the popular utensil in every Malayāli household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruneyil and Tirukkadittānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Raṣi-varman¹ of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr² itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kali 4051 and 4052, i. e., A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *līṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas*; but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *līṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevely Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (c.630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,³ and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple⁴ at

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 33-49.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 288-89.

3. Kuram plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 152.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭila-Parāntaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nānakkal in the Salem District within the old Chera dominions and called the Adiyēndra-Vishṇugriha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigaimān chief by about the end of the 8th century.¹ Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed² as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vaṭṭeḷuttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052.³

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அயம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-
வியூர் ஊரார் அவிர்ரோத்தால் முக்கால்வட்டத்துக் கூடி கொயிலு
முள்ளிருக்க மங்ஙலத்து நாராயணன் கெயவன் கிடங்குபறலுள் தில-
தமங்ஙலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அஞ்சுபதின் கலமும் கொடுத்தா-
ன் [1*] மங்ஙலத்து நாராயணன் கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக்-
கொற்றக்கரி தூற்றுதலமும் ஈரை இளாகை 'நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ-
ன்றும் ஈரைக்கு [இளா]த்துக்கு' அவதளிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின்
கலமும் திருக்கவியூர்த் தெவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கும் அகத்து
பந்திரடிக்கு நந்தாழியரி திருவமீர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாழியரி திருவக்கிர
மிரண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமியா விருவரும்
- 2 அமைச்சார் [1*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-
க்கப் பெறார் [1*] விலக்கு முராளர் வெவ்வேற்று வகையால் பெரு-
மாளுக்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1*] நாடுவா-
முமவர்க்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1*] தா-
னமும் பரடையும் முராண்(ம்)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு முழிக்களத்
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [1*] விலக்குமவள்க் கனு-
பந்தம் பறையுமவளும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவது [1*] ஊராவிர்ரோத-
த்தால்க் கூடியு மிச் செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-
றார் [1*] 'இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் கெயகாலத்து செலுத்தா
த்கால் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்'⁵ [1*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில் மூத்தொரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்து பலம் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப-
- 3 பிக்கக் கடவியர் [11*]

1. *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906, p. 76.
2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201.
3. No. 1 of 1087 published in the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 288.
4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places.

No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.¹

1. வ்விழி மூ [||*] கவியுந் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்[து*] அம்பத்தொரா மா-
ண்டு திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக[ர்*]க்கு மகிழ்ஞ்செரித் தெவன் செந்நன்
திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருநூர் திருவக்கிரமூர் திருச்சந்நணமூர் திருப்பு-
கையு மமச்சான் [||*] விளக்கனுக்கு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித்
திருவமிரதும் புகையரமண்ணினுற செல்விது [||*] தெவன் செந்ந
மைச்ச காராளராத் செலித்திச்சு கொள்ளக்கடவியர்[||*]
2. ஊராள செந்நன்கரி திருவக்கிரத்தின்னு குடிசுறு சத்தனத்தின்னு புகை-
க்கு சிறுபுனயில்தலை சாத்தன் கூறு அமைச்சான் [||*] மூழிக்களத்து
கச்சத்தொடொக்கும் |—

No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum. It measures 10"×5" exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4" broad and 2.5" high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētopatis, viz., ஸ்ரீராமநாமஸபாமிஸஹாயம் (*Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmi - sahāyam*), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72).¹ The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghunātha Sētopati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhadāsa Vañichi Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśekharapperumāl Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varūhaṇ* of the village of Kākkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthaswāmin at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service

1. No. 2 of 1087 published in the *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 289.
2. One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *surru-mandapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhaṭṭāṭiri of Vellitturutti. It is in Malayalam characters and reads as follows:
 - 1 வைஜித்ய.
 - 2 கணிபுத-
 - 3 திரிபுணி.
 - 4 வைஜித்ய
 - 5 னுண் ஹ [||*].
3. *Sendamiz*, Vol. VI, page 45.

(*kaṭṭalai*) to the god in his name. While this deed was drawn up, the Sēṭupati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Vīraiyaḍaḡaṇḍaṇ* to the east of *Kāttūr* *alias* *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr*, a village in *Togavūr-kūṛram*. *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr* and *Vīraiyaḍaḡaṇḍaṇ* were two of the many places which the *Ramnād* chiefs used as their headquarters. Of these the latter is in the *Rājasiṅgamaṅgalaśekharam* in *Sētu-nāḍu*.¹

We learn² that on the death of *Śella-Tēvar* *alias* *Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati* in 1760 A. D. his nephew *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati*, the infant son of *Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār*, who had been perhaps adopted³ by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able *Daḷavāy Dāmōdaram Piḷḷai*.⁴ The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph. Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No. 7 of the *Madras Epigraphical* collection for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high-sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later *Vijayanagara* grants. Some of these, however, such as *Tēvainagarādhīpaṇ* (the lord of *Tēvai-nagara*) *Ravikulāśēkharan* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumakēṭanan* and *Garudakēṭanan* (the bearer of the *Hanumān* and *Garuḍa* flags) were also borne by his predecessors. This *Sēṭupati* has been called *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati Kāttadēvar* in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttālēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar*. The *Sēṭupatis* held the subordinate position of vassals of the *Madura Nāyakas* who were themselves the *Governors* of the southern provinces of the *Vijayanagara* Empire, such as it was at that time. The *Nāyakas* did not assume any independent royal titles, but were content with being called '*Karttīkkal*' (Skt. *kartā* = an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The *Sēṭupatis*, who were appointed by these *Nāyakas* as *Pāḷaiyakkārār* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselves as '*Karttākkal*'. *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the *Maravas*.

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from *Ponnusvami-Tevan's Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *birudas* and their significance. The appointment of *Toṇḍiyintuṛar-kāvalaṇ* (the warden of the *Toṇḍi*⁵ harbour) appears to have been conferred on *Ativīra Raghunātha-Sēṭupati* for his help against the *Chōḷas*, who had invaded the *Pāṇḍya* country; while the privileges of raising the *Hanumān* and the *Garuḍa*-banner seem to have been conceded by the *Vijayanagara* kings for

1. *Śendamiḷ*, Vol. II, p. 34.

2. *Sewell's List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 231.

3. *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sēṭupati-ramśōddhāraḡaṇa*' in line 30 of the text.

4. The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Vēḷvikkōvai*'.

5. *Toṇḍi* is a harbour to the east of *Madura* and to the north of *Ramnād* and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the *Kuṭṭuvāṇ-toṇḍi* (*Kaḍalunḍi*).

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētopatis won also the title of '*Chōlamanḍala-pratishṭhāpanāchārya*' by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōlas in the capacity of Pāṇḍya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title '*kaṇḍanāḍu-koṇḍu-koṇḍanāḍu-koḍādāṇ*' (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōlas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Paṭṭukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet '*gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍaruliya*' (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *biruda* affected by Dēvarāya II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētopatis and with the installation of Śaḍayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram: and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētopatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles '*Sētumūlarakṣhā-dhurandhara*' and '*Rāmanāthasvāmikārya-dhurandhara*'. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets '*Pāṇḍimanḍala-sthāpanāchārya*' (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and '*tālikku-vēli*' (the fence round i.e., protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchuli and Paḷlimāḍam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called '*Daḷasiṅgam*' and is the hero of the *Daḷasiṅgamālai* of Aḷagiyachiṅṅambala-Kavirāyar of Mithilaip-paṭṭi. Another Raghunātha-Sētopati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kīḷavaṇ-Sētopati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of '*pararājakēśari*' or '*pakaimannarāsiṅgam*' by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka; while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of '*tulukkar-dala-vibhaṇ*' and '*tulukkar-mōham-tavirttāṇ*'. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this uttu-Rāmalinga-Sētopati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētopati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மனுக்கோடி காத்து மதுரையும் காத்து வளருந்தெய்வத்
சுனுக்கோடி காத்தவனேரு நா தளசிங்கமே.—*Daḷasiṅgamālai* (*Senulamil*, Vol. IV, p. 49).

King¹ Bālarāmavarman-Kulasēkharapperumāl (1758-98) who is the donor of the village of Kākkūr to the temple at Rāmēśvaram is a figure well-known in the history of Travancore as the *Dharmarāja*. It was during his long regime that the successive invasions of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan were effectively checked and a full account of his reign has been given on pages 369 *et. seq.* of the *Travancore State Manual*, Volume I, wherein he is called by the shorter name of Rāmavarman. On page 111 of Vol. IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* it has been stated on the authority of certain introductory verses in the *Bālarāmabharatam*, a work on the dancing art composed by the king himself, that the name of its royal author was² Bālarāmavarman; and this copper-plate record of Kollam 945 also names him as Śrī-Padmanābhadāsa Vañchi¹ Bālarāmavarman-Kulasēkharapperumāl Mahārāja. As other records and works make mention of him by the name of Rāmavarman also, it seems probable that the king who was known as Bālarāmavarman during the period of his heir-apparentship and the first few years of his reign (Kollam 937)³ gradually dropped off the youthful prefix of his name, and that the 'Bāla' of this record has to be corrected into *pāla* and tagged on to Vañchi, leaving the king's name as simple Rāmavarman. The Dutch sale-deed⁴ of Kollam 964 calls him only *Vañchi-Bālamārttāṇḍa-Rāmavarman*; the *Rāmavarmayaśōbhushaṇam*⁵ and the *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇam* composed in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu (corresponding in all probability to Kollam 960) call him only by this shorter name; Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāl) who must have composed his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam*⁶ before his death in Kollam 963 when he was the *yuvarāja* refers to his uncle by the name of Rāmavarman only; and the Nawab's Cowle-namah⁷ of A. D. 1766 (Kollam 942) names him only as the noble Rāma-Rāja, Zemindar of Malabar. It is therefore likely that the *Kiḷavanrāja* came to be known not as Bālarāmavarman but by the shorter name of Rāmavarman sometime about Kollam 942.

1. In the expression *வ ன்றினாளுராவதேசகருடுபவரவெழுராஜர்* occurring in ll. 32 and 50 of the record, it is possible to consider *வாளு* as a mistake for *வாரு* and take it along with *வ ன்றி* so as to mean 'the king or protector of (the town of) Vañchi as in the instances:

வாலமார்தண்டவர்க்குலசேகரவஜ்ஜிபூபு; வஜ்ஜிமாபதி; வஜ்ஜிபூபுதிரிபாலராம, திரிமதவஜ்ஜிகுலாதிபி
திரிபாலராமபுது; and திரிராமவர்க்குலசேகரவஜ்ஜிபூபு;

and take the king's name to be simply Rāmavarman in Kollam 945. In *Rāmavarmayaśōbhushaṇam*, however, the following expressions are used:

வஜ்ஜிபாலதிரிராமவர்க்குலசேகரபூபு; வஜ்ஜிபாலதிரிராமவர்க்குலசேகரசார்வமௌ: etc.

2. Vide footnote above.
3. The Treaty of Cochin, *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 371.
4. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 390.
5. *Rāmavarmayaśōbhushaṇam* calls him indifferently by both the names and must have been composed early in the king's reign.
6. *திரிபுத்திரமேதாசவஜ்ஜிபாலகுலசேகரராமவர்க்குல மாநிநெயேன சந்நிதாதிசுலாபிநேன ராமவர்க்குலாதிபி
யுவராஜேன நிவதமநிநவ ருகமிணிபரிநயம் நாம நாடகம்*. He must be the prince referred to as
'*மாநிநெயசுவநாம*!' in the *Bālarāmabharatam*.
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 379.

The first attribute namely Padmanābhādāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book¹ referred to above, *viz.*, that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāma-varman except in one instance² and has named his work as *Bālarāmabharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनियः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāmavarman II (Aviṭṭam-Tirunāl) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvarāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāl in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāl of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.³ This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāmavarman, although he may have discarded the prefix 'Bāla' after his coronation, *tulābhāra* and *hiranyagarbha* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work⁴ and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttāṇḍa Pillai Daḷavāy (Kollam 934-39).⁵

It may be noted that an *ōlai* document⁶ in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāmabharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāmavarman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repetition of the original dedication by Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāl) and nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāl).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959⁷ and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1. तदनुजरविवर्मा भागिनियः स्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वक्षिष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा
मनुपतिकुलभूये स्वामिश्रत्यस्वभावः ॥ — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 120.
2. श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवक्षिभूयो
विद्वत्प्रियो निखिलसूरिगणेश्य आर्यः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 107.
3. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 333 and 385.
4. श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्स हिरण्यगर्भ-
दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 108.
5. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 370.
6. *Vide infra*.
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.

his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above.

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevely and now a station on the Quilon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāṇa* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāṇa*, there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,¹ and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary.

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnad

1. अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गमे ।
रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥
मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।
क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहयोर्महात्मनोः ॥
अरण्यपत्तनग्रामसहितश्च तदद्भुतम् ।
अनेकजनपंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rāma mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyana* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāma-varman (A. D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

किञ्चान्यत्तस्य साहाय्यं शृणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।
श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चेरनृपस्य धीमतः ॥
एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभायमेव तु ।
योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा प्रिये ॥
तस्य शास्तुर्वैलेनैव केरळेशोऽत्र भूयत् ।

व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणाम्बिराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Rāmachērasamāgamah*.

district. They are *Tatātakai-nāḍu* (perhaps named after goddess *Mīnākshī*, *Tatā-takai-pirāṭṭiyār*), the sub-division in which *Kākkūr* was situated, *Gadaiyaṅ-kaṇ-māy*, *Karumala-kaṇmāy*, *Karuśai-kuḷam*, *Pūnda-kuḷam*, among the names of the tanks and *Kumārakuruchchi* and *Mudukulattūr* among the names of places. *Tokavūr-kūṟṟam*¹ is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the *Kāna-nāḍu*, which extended as far as *Tonḍi* and *Kālaiyārkoṭṭi*, was split up from olden days, while *Kāna-nāḍu* was again a district of *Pāṇṇi-nāḍu*, the tract of land lying between the *Pāṇḍya* and *Chōḷa* kingdoms.

Text.²

First-side.

- 1 உ ஸ்ஷஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [1*] ஸரஸ்வதே பரகாஷ்ட [2*] தங்காகுலக உதன்மெற் செ-
ல்லாநின்ற
- 2 கொலும் காசநடு ஆண்டு விரோதிநாடிவண்ணரடி சுற்பசி ஸ்ரீ உடுந உ
- 3 லாநுவாஸரடி உத்திராடந(௨)சுத்திரடி வலிவடிவகூத்து ஸ்ஷஸ்தியுஞ்
சூலந-
- 4 நமஸ்காம பரஜவாஸகரணமும் பெற்ற ஸுலபிதத்தில் ஸ்ரீமஹாணுடு-
- 5 ஸுரநு 1 செவெதகராயிவநு ஸெதுமருரகூடாயுரநுநு ஆரியராயிரத-
- 6 ளவிபாடன் பாலைக்குத்தப்புவராயிரகணன் கணநாடும் கொண்டு கெ-
- 7 ண்டநாடு கொடாநான் பாண்டிமண்டலவாவதாஅராயி-டிசு சொழம்-
- 8 னுய்யுதிஷ்வதாஅராயி-டிசு தொணுணுலசணுவுசணுநு இளமுங்கொங்-
- 9 குபாழ்ப்பாணாடிசுமும் எம்மண்டலமு[ம்*] 3 மஜவெட்டை கொண்டரு-
- 10 ளிப ராஜாயிராடிசு ராஜவ(௨)ரஜெஸுரநு ராஜவாதுணு ராஜமடிஸ்.
- 11 ரநு ராஜமுதிருகநு இரவிசுருசெவரநு சொரிமுத்துவன்னியநு 7 அந்-
தம்-
- 12 பிறகண்டன் 8 சாடிக்காறர்கண்டநு ஸ்ரீமஹாணுடையமிண்டன் ௨ ஷுரில்
௨ ஷுரநு
- 13 ௨ ஷுரன்கொட்டமடக்கி இளஞ்சிங்கந் தளஞ்சிங்கம் பகைமன்னர்சிங்க
மாத்துப்-
- 14 பாச்சி கடலின்பாச்சி மதப்புவியடைக்கலங்காத்தான் தாலிக்குவெலி 9 சத்-

1 வெற்றிவாழ்கின்ற திருமிழைக்கூற்ற மிகுந்த முத்தூர்க்கூற்றம்
பத்தியான அரும்பூர்க்கூற்றம் பரமான திருக்காண்க்கூற்றம்
முத்தமிழ்கேர் தொருபூர்க்கூற்றம் முதன்மையான கொடுமுனூர்க்கூற்றம்
எத்திசையான இளையாருடிக்கூற்றம்— *Sendamāl*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.

2. Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3. The name of the *karana* (astrological division of the day) is *Gara* (elephant) *karana*.

4. Read தேவைநமராயிவநு, the lord of *Tēvai-nagaram* i. e., *Rāmanāthapuram* (according to the Dictionaries); but *Tēvai* has been correctly identified with *Rāmeśvaram* itself in a Tamil poem called the '*Tēvai-nāḍi*' of *Palapaṭṭaḍai-Sōkkanāthappulavar*, verses 226 and 248.

5. Read எம்மண்டலமும் செண்டு மஜவெட்டை கண்டருளிய.

6. Read ராஜகமுதிருக.

7. வணங்காத தெவ்வைப் பொருமால் சொரிமுத்து வன்னியன் பொன்
ளணங்காரு மார்பன் ரகுநாதன்— *Oruturaiikkōvai*, verse 90.

8. கடந்தோய்தகவிறன்னுந்தம்பரகண்டன் முத்து
வடந்தோய்தனத்தியர் வேள் ரகுநாதன்— *ibid.*, v. 120.

9. Read மதுராயிவதி.

15. திராதியள்மிண்டன் வன்னியராய்பந்தவிளத்தான். மீதரண்டியந்தலும
காவலுந்.
16. துரகரெய்தந்தது! ஹநாஜிகதனன். 2. மரூஜிகதனன். விஜிகதனன்
கொண்டக்கு.
17. கண்ணி பொறுமைக்குயர்து மல்லுக்குலீர்து வில்லுக்குளியநு பரிக்கு
நகரூறு அ.
18. உழீராரநாயவ்வாபிஸஹாயது.
திவக்குதுகத்தியன் வத்யஹரி அநுநு விரவென்பாமாள் உபையஅட்ட-
ர[நு*] உல்லாசசல்.
19. வாபசங்கிதவாயுதழிவீரானிதெநு. திலததுதலுமடமாத் பட்டுமுகவ-
ருவூஉவநு விஜயமுகிதாநுநு காலசராவணராரநு அடியாரவென்கதாநுநு
20. விரதநுநடைசெமத்தலை விளங்கு மிருகாளினுன் துஷ்நிமுஹாஜிஷ்வாமி-
வாரூந்.
21. துலுக்கரதலவிபாடன் துலுக்கரஹந்தவிளத்தான் ஓட்டியர்தா-
விபாட்டி ஓட்டியரஹந்தவிளத்தான் பரதவிபாடன் மலைக்கலங்கனம்-
22. னக்கலங்காதான் சின்னசத்திரவொட்டன் ஹுமொகதெவெநுநு வரிவவ-
23. டியு.
24. ராநுநு அநெகஸுஹவாஜிஷ்வாகாரன் செம்பிவளநாடன் செங்காவிக்கு-
25. டையு மதிண்டெல் விருதுவெண்கவரிபெற்றவன் ஸகலவாஜிபாஜியுகி-
26. திவ.
27. ராவநு ராநாநாயவ்வாஜிகாயதுயுரநுரான்தோகலூர்க்குத்தத்தில் காத்து-
28. ரான
29. குலெரத்துல்கசொழநல்ல[ர*] கன்பால் விரையாதகண்டனில் விளங்க-
30. கியுத்.
31. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
32. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
33. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
34. தர்.
35. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
36. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
37. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
38. தர்.
39. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
40. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
41. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
42. தர்.
43. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
44. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
45. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
46. தர்.
47. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
48. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
49. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
50. தர்.
51. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
52. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
53. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
54. தர்.
55. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
56. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
57. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
58. தர்.
59. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
60. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
61. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
62. தர்.
63. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
64. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
65. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
66. தர்.
67. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
68. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
69. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
70. தர்.
71. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
72. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
73. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
74. தர்.
75. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
76. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
77. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
78. தர்.
79. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
80. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
81. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
82. தர்.
83. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
84. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
85. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
86. தர்.
87. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
88. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
89. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
90. தர்.
91. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
92. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
93. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
94. தர்.
95. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
96. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான
97. -ா- முத்திராமலிங்க விஜயரெவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்
98. தர்.
99. வாபுர்ஷஜாதாஜிஷ்வாபுரஹாஜாதாநயுரநுரான ஹிரணாஜிஷ்வாபாஜி ராவி-
100. குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள் வம்பொகாரகாரான

1. Revānta, the son of Sarya and Badavāṇi, was born riding on a white horse.

உதா. துதீயுஷ் ரெவந்தோஷ்வாஹக:

रेवन्तस्य च रेवन्तः खड्गी धन्वी तनुश्चकृ ।

अश्वारूढः समुपव्र्रा याणवृणी समान्वतः ॥

2. "குருதெநு ரவயுநாதச்செதுபதி காத்ந்தெவரவர்கள்" — *Oruturakkōrai*, verse 39.

3. The sign-mannual of the Ramnad chiefs is engraved in Telugu in the middle of the plate, as Telugu was adopted as the court-language by Vijayaraghunātha-Tirumalai-Sētipati — *Sensidanal*, Vol. VI, p. 45.

4. Head ஹைஹிதது.

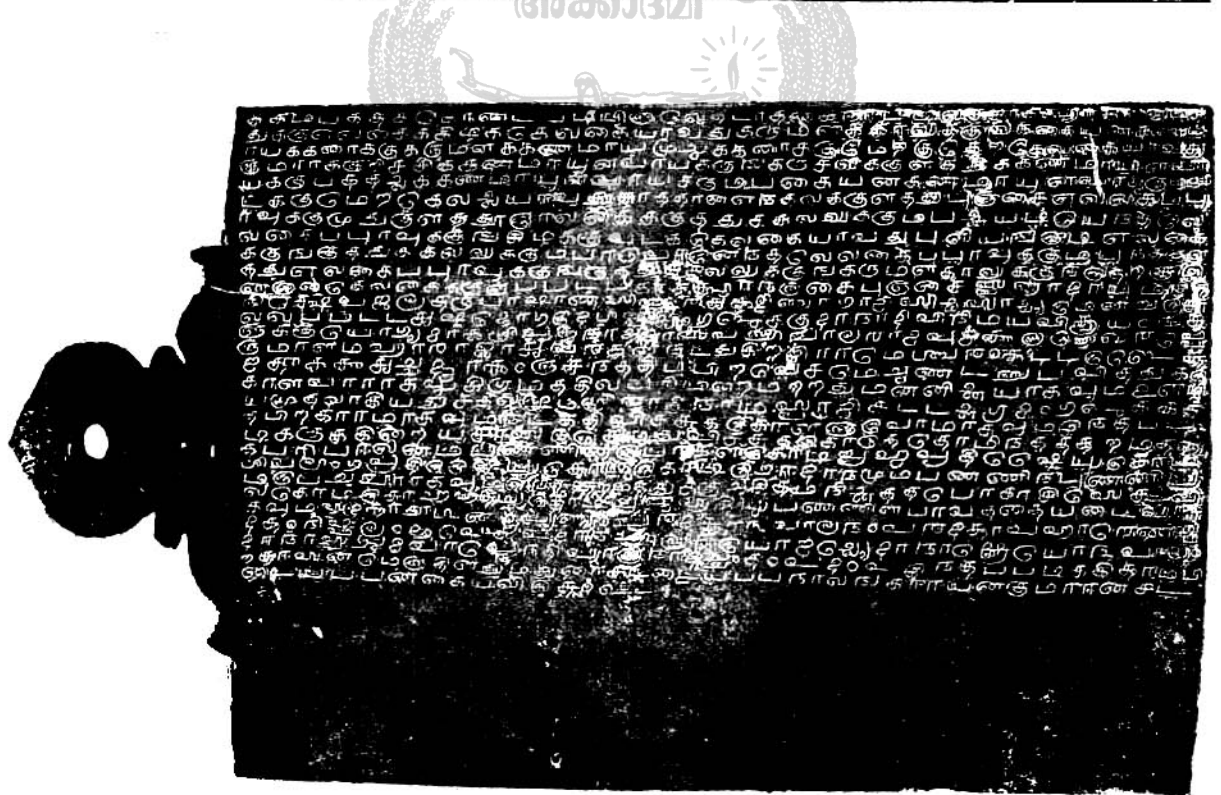
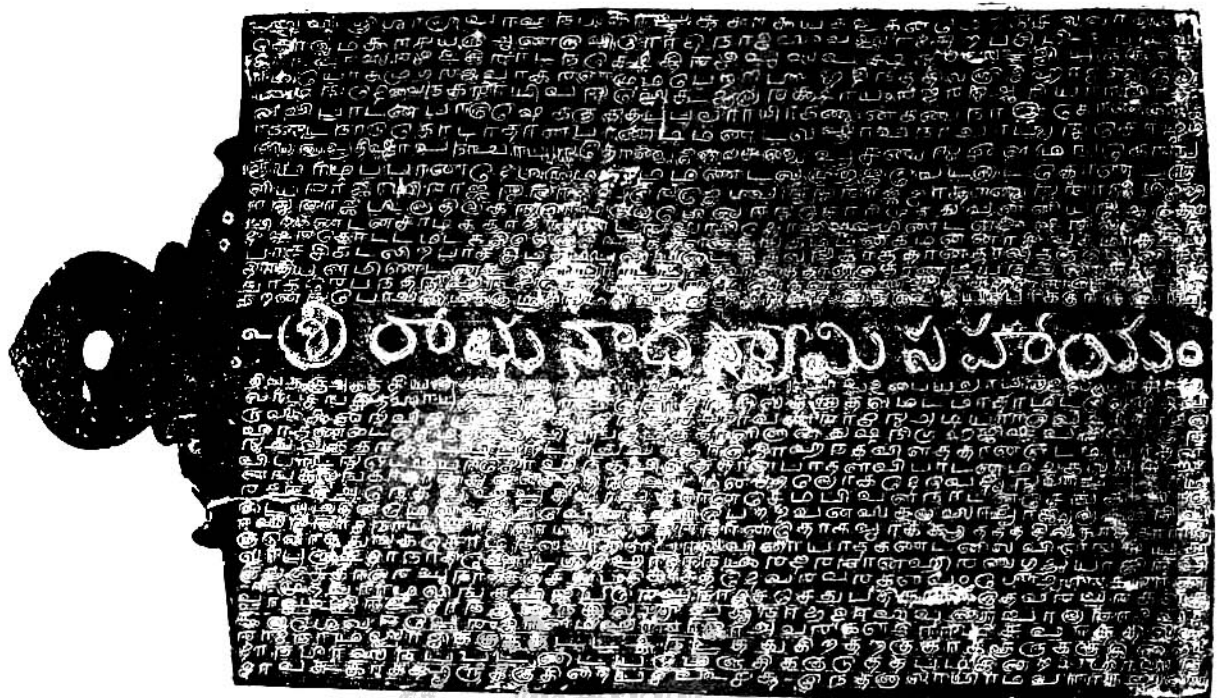
5. செமத்தலை was the name of the anklet worn by Ramnad chiefs.

6. Head ஹைஹிதது.

7. A parasol dyed in red ochre was the state umbrella of Sētipatis.

உதா. செமத்தலை யுன் துராயதன் and செங்காவிக்குடையன் துராதன் — *Oruturakkōrai*.

8. குலக்கைக் கொட்ட விராமேசர் தன்முடி குட and துரிசு டோற்ற விராமேசர் தாவினைக் க-
கடியவந்த.....குராதன் — *ibid*, verses 2 and 69.



Scale: One-half.

- 33 கூடுபெயர்ப்பெயர்நாள் உலாநாள் அவர்கள் இராமச்சுவரத்தில் மீ-
34 நாடோடியுலாதிக்குக் கட்டளை நடத்துகிறதற்கு காக்கூருக்கு கிறைம-
35 லா, தயாராவதப்பட்டைய மெனதிக் குடுத்தபடி கிறையயாவத-
36 லாவது [1*] காக்கூருக்கு கிறையடி உட சது— இந்த ஞாலிரம் வராகனும்
மொ-

Second side.

- 37 க்கம் பத்திக்கொண்டபடியினாலே தடாத்கைநாட்டில் காக்கூர்க் கிராமத்-
38 துக்கு எல்லைக் கிழக்கெல்கையாவது கருமளக்காலுக்கும் கதையன்கண்ம-
39 ராய்க் கரைக்கு[ம்*] கருமளக்கண்மாய் மூலைக்கரைக்கு[ம்*] மெற்கு தெற்-
கெல்கையாவது
40 குமார்க்குறிச்சிக்கண்மாயுள்வாய்க்கும் கருசல்க்குளத்துக்கண்மாயுள்வா-
41 ய்க்கு[ம்*] பத்தலைக்கண்மாயுள்வாய்க்கும் பகையன்கண்மாயுள்வாய்[ம்*]
க்கும் வ-
42 டக்கு மெற்கெல்லையாவது காத்தான் எந்தல்க்குளத்து புஞ்சை எல்-
லைப் பு-
43 ரவுக்கு[ம்*] முதுகுளத்து ரெல்கைக் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பனையடி யெந்த-
லை-
44 ல்கைப் புரவுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடக்கெல்லையாவது புளியங்குடி எல்லை-
45 க்கும் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பாடுவானெந்த லெல்கைப் புரவுக்கும் பூந்தகுள-
46 த்து எல்லைப் புரவுக்கும் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் கருமளகாலுக்குத் தெற்கு இ-
47 ன்னான்கெல்லைக் குளப்பட்ட காக்கூர் நஞ்சை புஞ்சை ஸ்ரீராமாஜாபுரம் நிதி-
48 ன்செஷ்வரஜெதருபாஷாணலிஷ்டுர கிஷ்ணுநாமாலிஷ்டுரஜெமென்று சொ-
49 ல்லப்பட்ட கிஷ்ணுமெஷ்டுரஜெமென்றுக்கு ஷாநாஜிநிதியனிகுயங்க-
50 னுக்கு யொழுகாக ஸ்ரீவஜ்ஜநாஜாஷாண ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீராமாஷாண காமுஷெவர-
வெ-
51 ருமாள் மஹாராஜாஷவர்கள் நடத்துகிற இராமேஸ்வரம் கட்டளைத் த-
52 ஷத்துக்கா குஷ்டுரக-2(0)ஞ் சந்ததிப்பிறவெசமெ ஆண்டனுபவித்துக் கொ-
53 காள்வாராகவும் [1*] கிராமத்தில் வரியிறை மற்றதும் 3மன்னியாகவும்
ஊழி-
54 ய் மதலாகியது சகலமும் ஸ்ரீராமநாமேஸ்வர கட்டளை முஷ்டுரக-2(0)க்குத் த-
55 த பிறகாரமாகவும் நடத்திவிச்சுக் கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்ப-
56 டிக்குக் கிறையசாலுந் [ஞ்*] செய்துவிச்சுக் கொடுத்தொ மிந்தத்தம்மத்தை-
57 த பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின பெர்கள் கொடிஸ்ரீஷுவரதீவெஷ்டுரம் கொடி-
58 ஸ்ரீவஜ்ஜநாமேஷ்டுரம் கொடிகொடி மொஷாநமும் பண்ணிந் பண்ணிய-
59 ம் பெறுவதாகவும் [1*] இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அகிதம் நினைத்தபெர் காசி-
வெத்து-
60 ல் கொடி கொறு(று)த்தியும் கொடி ஸ்ரீஷுவரத்தியும் பண்ணின பாவத்
தை யடைவரா-

3. Read மௌன்டுற°.

4. Read சுமங்கலங்கோத்த

- 61 கவும் [1*] வந்ததாதுமுனா! வுனாது வந்ததாதுவானுதம் வந்ததாவ-
ஹாரெனா வு-
62 ற்து நிஷ்ணம் ஹெஸு உ றாதவானுதயொதீஜெஜிஜி றாதாஜெயொநுவா.
முநம்
63 றாதாஜெயொதீஜெயொதீ வானுதாஜெயொதீ வஜம் உ இந்தப்படிக்குத் தா-
ம்பி-
64 மசாஸன் மெளுதினது மதுரை சட்டையப்ப நாலங்கராபன் குமாரன் சட்-
65 டையப்பன் கைப்பித்தி உ

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 23rd (day) of Arpaśi in the year Virōdhi cor-
responding to (the) Kollam (year) 945 (which was) current after the Śaka year
1691 had expired, and which was a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight
with nakshatra Uttirādam, śulanāma-yōgam and garaja-karaṇam, śrī-Mahā-
maṇḍalēśvaran, the lord of the city of Tēvai, the guardian of the Sētu, the des-
troyer of the armies of enemy kings (or Āryas), the punisher of those kings who
transgress his words, he who seizes the countries seen but never lets go the cap-
tured territories, the establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the establisher of the
Chōḷa dominions, the all-powerful in the Tondai-maṇḍalam, the (conqueror) of Īlam,
Koṅgu, Yālpāṇam and all (other) kingdoms, (he) who instituted the elephant
hunt, the chief of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the sun among kings, the
noblest among kings, the ornament of the race of kings, the crest-jewel of the
solar race, the *vanniya* of abundant pearls,..... the destroyer of tale-
bearers, the punisher of rebels of *svāmi* (his Pāṇḍya master), the wicked among
wicked men, the curber of the mischief of wicked men, the lion-cub,⁶ the lion of
the army, the lion to enemy kings, he who pushed (his army) on rivers and on
the sea, he who gave asylum to the ferocious tiger, the protector of the (Queen's)
marriage-badge, the punisher of parasolled kings, the stopper of the swagger of
the *vanniyas*, the warden of the Tondī-harbour, a Rēvanta in horsemanship, the
monkey-bannered, the Garuḍa-bannered, the lion-bannered, a Kārṇa in charity, a
Dharma in patience (forgiveness), a Bhīma in wrestling, a Vijaya⁷ (Arjuna) in ar-
chery, a Nakula in horse-craft, an Agastya in erudition, a Hariśchandra in truth-
fulness, the possessor of a heroic panegyric⁸ and a brace of fly-whisks, an adept in
the arts of pleasant talk, music and composition, he of the lovely face about whom
artless maidens with vermilion-marked foreheads desire to compose (the work

1. Read வந்ததாதுமுனா.

2. Read வொதீஜெயொதீ.

3. Read றாதாஜெயொதீ.

4. Read றாதாஜெயொதீ.

5. Read றாதாஜெயொதீ.

6. வெருண்டெழுந்த கல்லிங்கேச்சரி தேவையர்கோன் ரகுநாதன்—*Oruturūikkōrai*, v. 31.

7. அடைக்கலங்காத்தவன் செஞ்சிலைக்கேவியைபன் ரகுநாதன்—*ibid.*, v. 92.

8. *Viravenbāmāliyaṇ* was also the title of the Pāṇḍya king Ativirarāma of A. D. 1562 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. p. 274).

called)¹ *maḍal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvanas of (enemy) kings, a *vēlaikkāraṇ*² to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *sēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oḍḍiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōla dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *virūdu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Hiraṇyagabhayāji Raghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal, who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tulāpurushadāna, the crest-jewel of the Solar race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Virūyādagandān in the eastern portion of Kākkūr alias Kulōttuṇṅgaśōla-nallur (a village) in Togavūr-kūṛram — Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal — gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhadaśa Vañchi³ Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja of the *ādhīnam* of Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kaṭṭalai*) to god śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmēśvaram.

As 4000 *varāhaṇ*, (in words) four thousand *varāhaṇ*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Taṭātakai-nāḍu are:—

the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumaḷakkāl, the bund of Gadaiyān-kaṇmāy, and the corner bund of Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy;

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkurich-chi-kaṇmāy, Karuśalkuḷa-kaṇmāy, Pattalai-kaṇmāy and Pagaiyaṇ-kaṇmāy;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttāṇ-ēndal-kuḷam, the boundary stone of Mudukuḷattūr, and the boundary land of Pappaiya-ḍi-yēndal; and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puliyāṅguḍi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Pāḍuvān-ēndal, the boundary of Pūndak-kuḷam and its set-up stone and the Karumaḷakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshinī* and *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhadaśa Vañchi³ Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession.

1. A variety of composition, *vide*.

— மன் னு

விடவண்ணக்கண்டத்துவெளியன்மேலிட்ட

மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுதிண்டு —

Tirukkaiḷa oṇāma-ula.

Pannirupattiyal defines *Maḍal* in verses 244 to 247; Tirumaṅgai-ālvār is the author of similar compositions called the *Periyatirumadal* and the *Śiriyaticumalai*.

Maḍalardal is the crowing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party—viz., that of riding on a horse made of palmyra pricks!

2. On *Vēlaikkāraṇ* and their significance, *vide*.

3. See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara.

The taxes leviable from this village shall be (paid by tenants as) *manṇirai*, and labour and other items shall be supplied according to the requirements of the Rāmanāthasvāmi-service.

Thus did we prepare and give the sale-deed.

Those that protect this charity shall obtain the merit of having set up a crore of brahmans and a crore of Śiva-liṅgas, and of having performed many crores of Gōdānas. Those that think evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed a crore of brahmans and a crore of cows in Kāśi (Benares) and Sētu (Rāmēśvaram).

The protection of another's charity is twofold more meritorious than one's own charity; by damaging another's charity, one's own gifts become fruitless. Between (the two things) gift and its protection, the latter is more felicitous than the former; by gift one attains Svarga whereas by fostering (another's charity) one reaches the abode of Achyuta (*i. e.*, Vaikuṇṭham).

In this manner was this copper-plate engraved in the writing of Śaṭṭaiyappaṇ, the son of Śaṭṭaiyappa-Nālaṅgarāyaṇ of Madurai.

No. 5—Ramavarmayasobhushanam and Yasulakshmikalyanam.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled the *Rāmavarma-yasobhūṣaṇam*, which on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratīparudrīya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes, classified under the same nine chapters, Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Dōsha, Guṇa, Śabdālāṅkāra, Arthālāṅkāra and Mīśrālāṅkāra *prakāraṇas*, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara Vañchipāla.¹ The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadāśiva-makhin,² son of Chokkanāthādhvarin;³ but further details

1. Similar works composed by other poets in praise of their respective patrons are *Nāṭjarājyaśobhushanam* of Narasimhakavi, *Alaṅkāra-māñjusha*, and *Śaṭṭairirabharā-dīpikaram* in Sanskrit and *Māṇḍalāṅkāram* of Tirukkuraikaipperumāl-Kavirāyar in praise of Nammālvār.

2. चोक्कनाथाध्वरिसुतस्सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।

सदाशिवमखी मोऽयं प्रबन्धा भायुक्ताग्रणीः ॥

संयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिबन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्सरसभावनिर्गुणोक्ता ।

कान्तं समिच्छति वधूरिव वखिबा(पा)लश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसर्वभौमम् ॥

3. We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanātha at the end of the 17th century; *viz.*,

(i) the author of *Sēvantikaparinayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshitiṇḍra, in his drama.

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishthirarajayam* of Vāsudēva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sudarśana-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and a native of Śāttanūr; and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1693).

Of these No. i refers to Nilakantha-Makhin and was the author of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājjirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nāyaka of Ikkēri (1697-1714) and a chief

about his pedigree are not available here except that in a drama of his named *Lakṣmīkalyāṇam*¹ his *gōtra* is known to be Bhāradvāja and mother's name to be Mīnākshī. Unlike the *Pratāparudrīya* which has furnished many interesting bits of historical information about its Kākatiya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarman' is a composition of purely literary merit; for the author evidently an East-Coast brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his penegyric verses, but has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions; and the criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct is hardly undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mārttāṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara-Vaṇchipāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 933 (A. D. 1758) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 973 (A. D. 1798), is understood from a verse² which records

named Basavarājendra (c. 1700 A. D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*Q. J. M. S.* Vol. X. p. 257); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra to identify him with Sadāśiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gōtra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Śrāvaṇa), Rēvati, Monday, *ba. triya*, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāśiva's father. Sadāśiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign.

1 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्तनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षिगर्भ-
शक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

2. सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां

विपक्षक्षोणीश्रुतिमिरहतेजस्विनि विधेः ।

गतेऽस्तं मार्तण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः

कलासिन्धुराजाष्टयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

A few other verses referring to the king are:

(a) तत्तादृगद्भुतचरित्रपावीत्रितासु

प्राचां कृतिष्वपि सतांषु मितपचोक्तिः ।

वाञ्चापलासुगुणसागरवाञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपमीडे ॥

(b) लक्ष्मी वृणोतु यदपाङ्गविलासपात्रं

यच्छस्तलक्ष्यकुलमाश्रितोऽप्सरोग्भिः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवाञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरराट सजीयात् ॥

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārttāṇḍa (the king: the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāmavarman: the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram: the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāmavarman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī;¹ and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunāḍ family who was adopted by Unnikēraḷavarman in Kollam 893² (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmī and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Ranis of Travancore. Rāmavarman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *saṅgarbhyaḥ*³ and are cited as types of *Dhīralalitu* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one Ravivarman,⁴ who was present at the time of Rāmavarman's dedication of the State to god Padmanābha. The munificence⁵ and charitable disposition,

(c) सन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्समृद्धाः

आचन्द्रतारमवनौ जयतु क्षितीन्द्रः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिबा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

1. (a) पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेनजगती क्षेमाय सद्वृद्धये
दुष्टानामह शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः ।
भूत्वा वञ्चिधराधिपः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुव्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मानृपः ॥

- (b) पार्वतीनन्दनस्सौम्य वञ्चिन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।
शक्त्या विनिहितामित्रः सुव्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥

- (c) योयं मुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्भश्रुक्तिः ।
सद्वृत्तो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सौम्यं विराजते ॥

2. Trav. State Manual, Vol. I, page 324.

3. सौधाम्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कविम्बोदय-
व्याक्षिप्तेन्द्रभयप्रदानचतुरस्वीयास्यचन्द्रोदयैः ।
गायद्भिर्निजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्भ्यान्ृपा
वञ्चिक्षोणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

4. तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयस्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिक्षमापतिश्चैकभागः ।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा

मनुपातिकुलभूषे स्वाभिमुखस्वभावः ॥—*Bālarāmabharatam* (T. A. S. IV, 110).

5. विद्वद्भजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्त्वै-
रुद्ध्वागुणैः कनकशृङ्खलिकानुबन्धान् ।
कृत्वावासि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिबा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

pro prowess,¹ literary accomplishments² and other incomparable³ qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharma-rāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*⁴ and in the *Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-prakarana* or the third chapter of the book is as follows:—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simbala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

1. त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराधिपका शशी
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नाराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलयशोमण्डलः
राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥

2. यदच्छासन्नपैस्समधिगतषट्पत्तन्त्राविभवं-
श्चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन्धिन्वन् गानकमविवरणादगायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन्वचिक्षितिपालकोऽयं विजयते ॥

3. स एव देवो भुवनेज्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्थिः ।
सानन्दपुर्येव पुरी स वचिक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥

4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 407 et. seq.

In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-tīrṇal) in his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam* is worth noting.

अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचङ्कन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातवदचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राज-
मानवाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधित्तिरवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव शृङ्गमहितापदानवतः का-
र्तिकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशङ्कटभुजविटपिविहरमाणविश्वभरा-
शारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणधिवणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलाख्यविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलदे-
गन्तभूयमाणगुरुगुणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः श्रीपद्मनाभदासवचक्षिपालकुलशेखर-
रामवर्मणो भागिनयेन रामवर्मनामधयेन etc.

the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardurga-pāla*) Vasumadrāja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumatī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhūrāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmavarman with Vasulakshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her shipwreck on the Travancore shores enroute Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Simhala and Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household³ of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nītisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrāja, his sister is a Vasumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulakshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*vasu*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests¹ and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindhu or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindhu and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.²

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 *et. seq.*

2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*.

3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts.

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore¹ and its author who is quite different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Yasōbhūshanam*, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmanyādhvarin² of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1553-1626) of Aḍaiyappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details; but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārvabhauma*³ through the augmented

1 तदामुष्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराजरामवर्मकुलशेखरचोरतानुबन्धो कुतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

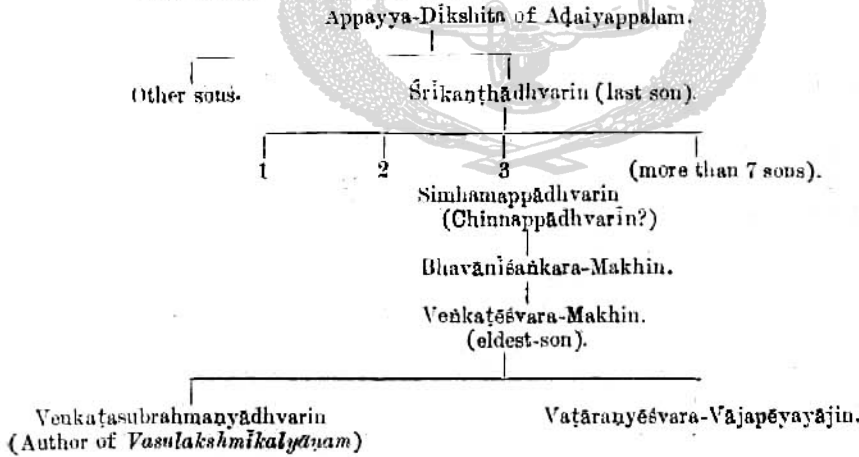
2 अप्पय्याध्वरिसुतेध्व(षु)चरम श्री[नील*]कण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयस्सिद्धमप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरावभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसूनुः कविः ॥

विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिनां वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।

वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्वन्मणिर्यतोऽष्टुदभूत् ॥

इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभववित्रासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाज-
पेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows:



The two names Srikantha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript; for another copy of the same work available at Karatholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nilakantha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama:—

अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेशभूताः नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्या-
ध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि नळचरितोमापरिणयोषाह-
रणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्दप्रभृतिरपरिमितैर्नाटिकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमादेव etc.

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वयं ।

निश्चैषीद्विबोद्धस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

friendship of the Hūnarāja, (the Hon'ble East India Company?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,¹ just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word 'vasu', as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara-minister, *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*-consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvārman*-Chēra prince, *Vasunidhi*-Sindhurāja, *Vasurāśi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*—Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows:—

The minister *Buddhisāgara* who has seen the portrait of *Vasulakshmī*, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūnarāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūna fleet, and *Vasumān*, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of *Vasumatī* who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince *Vasuvārman* and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the counter-machinations of the king and his *Vidūshaka* who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, *Vasumatī* is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of *Vasulakshmī* with her own husband and the Sindhu prince *Vasurāśi*, instructed by *Buddhisāgara* comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūnarāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūnarāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described² as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमानूपवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः दृष्टराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तसपि सख्यं देवेन बहुलीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,¹ it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rāmavarman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurāja is mentioned as the friend of Rāmavarman's uncle,² Mārttāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kachcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viliñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmī.³ Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumān, the *Vēladurūpāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on Śabdālāṅkāra in the *Rāmavarma-yaśobhūṣaṇam* have been given under the section of Chitrālāṅkāra a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhas*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *aṣṭaḍaḷapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 372

2. अस्मन्मातुलबालामेवमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृतः

योषीती धनुरागमेषु सहतैः तुल्यश्च बाहोर्वले ।

सिन्धोरुतरकच्छभूमिमवर्षीकृत्य हिमाद्रिः क्षितिं

रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो वसुनिधिः ख्यातप्रभावः क्षिती ॥

3. A modern work in prose on *ammaridus* states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz., Kāliammāi-Nāgamāi of Nagerooil and three others from Vadaṣeri. Arumāṇa and Tiruvattāṇ ammaridus.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Pratāparudriya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged. The Śaṅgam edition of *Māraṇalaṅkāram* also gives the correct diagram of a *śaḍārachakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

No. 6.—Marttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*ediriḍa*), its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppaḍi-dānam*,¹ wherein king Mārttāṇḍavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhaṇḍārakkāriyam-śeyvār*). That this *coup-d'état* was calculated to safeguard the solidarity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvaḍi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Vēṇāḍu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttāṇḍavarman's successor Rāmavarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here viz., the fort of Tōvāla on the east and Kāvāṇāru in the west; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttāṇḍa, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, 362: Compare

പത്തനാടസ്ഥത്തിൽ യന്ത്രൻ യരണീന്ദ്രമുഖി

പത്തനാടസ്ഥത്തിൽ സമ്മമാള ചമച്ചുടൻ

* * * * *

സകലദർശി പരമേശ്വരപട്ടമതിവഞ്ചിഭൂമിപുരരരൻ

from *Pañchenḍrōpākhyānam* of Kuñjan-Nambiyār.

And യൂണാളൂർ യന്ത്രൻ യരണീന്ദ്രമുഖി

കുന്തിച്ചിട്ടം ഭക്തിയോടമ്പലത്തിൽ

ചെന്നസ്ഥാനത്തേൻ പാലംബുരുത്തിൽ

തമ്പ്രാ സമർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടു ചെന്നറ രാജ്യം.

ഭൂപ്രസിൻ കയരെ പരമം

ശ്രീപത്തനാടേൻ നടുക്കുപരി

സമസ്ഥാനത്തിൻ ചക്കുമായ്

ഗുണം വെടഞ്ഞിട്ടുവാളു വെച്ചു.

southern Kēraḷa was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyaṅḡulam and Kottārakkarā, Ambalappuḷa and the chieftaincies of Tekkuṅkūr and Vadaḡkūṅkūr.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 உ² ஸ்ரீராம³செயம் [11*]
- 2 திர்ப்பாப்பூர் கிழப்பெருர் ஸ்ரீ வீரவால³மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூத்ததிருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திங்கல்ந் நிந்தும் கல்பிச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவருவார்ப்பண⁴ ஒலக்கு எழுதின எதிரட [11*]
- 3 கயிலிரு நுலு தைரீ⁵ நுலு
- 4 விரச்சிக சனி மீனவியாமும் செந்ந கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்து இருபத்தியரமாண்ட மகரமாதம் நுலு புதனாகையும் பூர்வபகஷத்து சத்தமியும் இந்நாளால் எழுதிய சறுவருவார்ப்பண ஒலைக்கரணமாவது [1*]
- 5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரக்காரியம் செயிவார்களாய வரலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்தும் தங்களுக்கு ஒள்ள தோவாளகொட்டைக்கு படிஞாறு கவணற்றினு கிழக்கொள்ள
- 6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்து ஒள்ளது நாளதுவரெ நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு அனுபவிச்ச வருந்ந வத்து சிறத்தியங்கனும் தானமானங்கனும் எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்
- 7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சறுவருவார்ப்பணமாக ஆசெந்திருக்கமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார் [11*]

Second side.

- 8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்களாய வரலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்தும்
- 9 இம்மார்க்கமெ இ சறுவருவார்ப்பண ஒல வகை யெழுதிய மெலெழுத்தக் கணக்கு சங்கரகுமார[ப*]ட்டன் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpaṇa-ōla* (document) relating to the dedication of the kingdom to the *śrībhāṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by śrī-Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūta-tiruvaḍi of (the) Tiruppāppūr(-*svarūpam*) and (the) Kīlappērūr(-*illam*), from his palace.

Kollam 925, Tai 5.

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpaṇam*) which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

1. Registered as No. 13 of the *Trav. Epig. Colln.* for 1098 M. E.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The symbol— does duty for the word மார்த்தாண்ட.

4. The correct form is ஸ்வ-ஹோவ-ஹண.

सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very meritorious kind of gift. सर्वस्वदान is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the daughter of the house whom he marries.

5. Expressed by a symbol.

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vriśchika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with *saptamī-tīthi* of the first fortnight:

Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhaṇḍāra*) treasury of Perumāḷ (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvālakōtta and to the east of Kāvaṇāru which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him.

This is the signature of the *mēlēluttu* (head-accountant), Saṅkara-Kuṁārabhaṭṭaṇ who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpaṇa* transaction of Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu, who was the head of the Government.

No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vaṭṭeluttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Chēramaṅgalam, a small village in the Eraniel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, the first Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy who was appointed by Rājendrachōla I for the administration of his Pāṇḍya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vaṭṭeluttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilaṭṭi, brother of Kaḷaṇi-Venni of Śaṅkarappādi who figures as a donor to the Viṣṇu temple at Suchīndram in a record¹ of the 9th year of the same viceroy, where his full name is given as Kaḷaṇi-Venni *alias* Madhurāntakapērariyaṇ. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōttāru and his brother, the donor in the Chēramaṅgalam record, was employed as an *orrai*chēvakaṇ in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya's army from the Chōla dominions, because Mayilaṭṭi is a name which is often met with in the Chōla inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Orrai*chēvakaṇ as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings Māraṇjadaiyaṇ² and Vīra-Pāṇḍya,³ and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work' (*orru*=espionage and *orrai*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *orru*chēvakaṇ or *orrai*chēvakaṇ. *Orrai* means 'single' and *orrai*chēvakaṇ were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions⁴ copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōla garrison:

1. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 135.
2. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 158.
3. *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 73.
4. *ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 132, 135, 137.

namely, *Śeṇāpati Malayappichōḷaṇ*, *Paḍaittalaivar Kāvāṇai-Karuvūr* and *Danḍa-nāyakaṇ Vēḷaṇ-Sōlakēraḷaṇ*. *Teṇ-Tiruvāṇḡgamudaiyār* the god of the Vishṇu temple of Chēramaṇḡalam and *Teṇ-Tiruvēṇḡgamudaiyār* installed within the big temple at Suchindrum, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvarangam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvēṇḡgam (Tirupati) in the Madras Presidency.

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas*: e. g., *Rājarājaṇ (-maṇḍapa)*, *Aṇiyēṇṇavallāṇ (-pandal)*, *Vīravallāṇ (-simhāsana)*, *Kulaśēkharaṇ (-paḍi)*, *Kulōt-tuṇḡgasōḷaṇ* (palace), *Narasīṅgamuṇḡaiyaraṇ (-poṇḡal)*, *Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṇ (-śandi)*, *Rājakēsarikkāl* (a measure), *Śērāntaka* (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalaṭṭi was named *Tiruvorṇaichchēvakaṇ*, after the donor's profession.

The second epigraph records that a certain *Iṇaiyān-Achchaṇ* gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called *Āyiravaṇ-Dēvaṇ* went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kaḷaṇḡu* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Maṇṇu-māṇḡipōkil* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *maṇṇu* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *maṇṇāḍi* therefore refers to a member of the *maṇṇu*, i. e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly¹. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *maṇṇāḍiyār* has however been derived from *maṇ*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners.

Mudukuḍi—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravar*) called the *Muduvar*²; but it does not seem probable that *Āyiravaṇ-Dēvaṇ* of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakuḍi*³ occurs in the Kēraḷapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the fourth in Tamil, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No. C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *giṇḍi* for use in the temple, while No. F states that the village of Chēramaṇḡalam was a *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-Tēṇṇāḍu.

A

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 வஹி ஸ்ரீ [11*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெ
வர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி
தெவவன் [நா*]ட்டு புறங்.

1. பழையமன்றடிபோதுமிவனென்று பண்பின்மிக்க—*Periyapuramam*.

2. *Poruḷadhikāra-arāyachchi*, p. 11.

3. *Vide*. Kēraḷapuram records published below.

(A) Registered as No. 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. Z.

- 2 கரம்பை நாட்டு முக்கரையான மும்முடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம்*] ச
ங்கரபாடியான் கமுனி [வெண்ணியென்] நம்பி திருவொற்றைச்செவக
மாயலட்டியென் இராசராசதெ[ன்*]னட்டு செமங்கலத்து தெவர்
தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார்[க்*]குச்
- 3 சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரிய வைச்ச தாராவிளக்கு வெள்ளிக்கொலால்
நிறை அறுபது [1*] இவ்விளக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் என்பது
சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரியுப்படித் தருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டி
வைச்ச திருந்தாவிளக்கு [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Śrī Sundarāśōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, Tiruvorāichchēvaka-Māyalatti, brother of Kalāpivēnni of Saṅkarappādi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Mummudiśōlapuram, a village of Puṇāṅkarambai-nāḍu which is a sub-division of Arumolideva-vaṇaṇāḍu, a district of Śōla maṇḍalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *vellikkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Teṇ-Tiruvaramgamudaiyār of Śēramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājaraṅja-Tēppāḍu. This lamp-stand called Tiruvorāichchēvakaṇ is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvorāichchēvaka-Māyalatti, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

B

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [1*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெவர்-
[க்*]கு யாண்டு [ஆறு]வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார் கொவிலில்
முதுகுடி செந்தில் ஆயிரவ-
- 2 [தெ]வன் மன் றுமாரி பொகில் தன்கு¹ ஆக இறை புனைபடுவென் இவ்வு
ரை³ மன் றுடி.
- 3 இறையான் அச்சன்னென் இப்படி அன்றென்[ள்]ல் அன்றாடு கொவி-
னுக்கு² அறுகழு[ஞ்*]சு பொன் படுவொதாக
- 4 ஒட்டி திட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஒட்டி கையத்திட்டிக் குடுத்தொம் இவ்விரு
வொம் செமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீயார்க்கு [11*]
- 5 இப்படி அறிவெ⁴

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Śrī-Sunda-
rāśōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, I, Irāiyāṇ-Achchan a *maṇṇāḍi* of this village shall be security
for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravaṇ-Devaṇ of Śendil the tenant (*mudu-
kudī*) of the temple of Teṇ-Tiruvaramgamudaiyār should shift from (the jurisdic-
tion of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kaḷaṅṇu* of
gold to the king for each day (of default).

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the
council (*sabhaiyār*) of Chēramaṅgalam. This (I) know

(B) Registered as No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

1. It is probably a contraction for தன் கட[ம்*] ஆக or கட[மை*] ஆக.

2. If it is கொவினுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple.

3. Read இவ்வுர்.

4. The record stops here.

C

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1*] செரமங்கலத்து இணைய சிங்க¹ -
- 2 வீர[ன்*] தெனத்திருவாங்கமுடையா[ர*]க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி²

D

On a pillar in front of the temple.

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| 1 தென்ந்- | 3 நகத்து |
| 2 திருவா- | 4 ஆழ்வார் |

No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.

Tiruvanvandur which is known by the name of Tiruvenmandur and Tiru-
vanmandur in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-mandalam
sung in the hymns of Nammālvār. It is referred to in the *Nālāyirapraba-
ndham*⁴ as well as in *Māṇalārkkārām*⁵ and *Aṣṭaprabandham*⁶ as Tiruvan-
vandur, the change of *vandur* into *mandur* being accounted for by the genius of
the Malayalam language (*c.f.*, *vaṇṇāṇ*, *maṇṇāṇ*).

(C) & (D). These are registered as Nos. 78 and 79 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. S. (Vaṭṭeṭuttu and Tamil).

- 1 Read இரணியங்கலீன்.
- 2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *gind* (vessel with a spout) are missing.
- 3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vaṭṭeṭuttu.

E.—(No. 80 of 1093).

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1*] இடவத்திலு விபா
- 2 ந்று செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்றி
- 3 ட்டு அபியனாண அழகியபாண்டி
- 4 திணென்புமி பட்டணமான
- 5 பொகம் ஆற்றபுரத்து முத்தறை ஆ
- 6 றைக்கு மெக்கு காணுக்கு வட

F.—(On the *balikkal*).

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1*] ராஜராஜத்தென்னுட்டு ஸ்ரீ .
- 2 ஹதேயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார் தென்றி-
3 வரங்க
- 4 *Tiruvāymoli*, VI, 1.
- 5 மலர்மகள் சேர்மணிமார்பன் வைதகனும் வைதகனும் 10றுகில்
வண்டுர் வண்டுர் — *Māṇalārkkārām*, v. 713.
- 6 தேசமுலகுமுவிருந் திரிந் துதிக்கும்
யாவும் படைத்த விதைகண்டிர்—பூவிந்
திருவண்வண்டுறையுந் தேவாதிதேவன்
மருவண்வண்டுர் துவவமால். — *Narrettu-tiruppati-andadi*, v. 67.

The Vishnu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nammālvār, the Vaishnava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Venādu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkādu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Vishnu temple at Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *aṅḡu-gaṇattār*¹, who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Nanḡulai-nādu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Mūlik-kāḷa-kachcham, which must have wielded considerable influence in those days. Mūlikkāḷam or Mūshikakūḷam was one of the four places, where an early *kaḷakam* (*kaḷakam*) or assembly was installed according to the *Keralolppatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are:

Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkādu (in the Tiruvalla taluk),
Sēnnaṇ-Kaṇṇaṇ of Charuppēdimāṅgalam,
Sāttāṇ-Kīraṇ of Tāḷaṇjēri,
Sūvaraṇ-Sāttāṇ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam,
Dēvaṇ-Sēnnaṇ of Elumūlaichechēri,
Sāṅkaraṇ-Sūvaraṇ of Tāḷaimaṇ, and
Vaṇḱikōḍu and Uḍiyaṅkōḍu among names of fields.

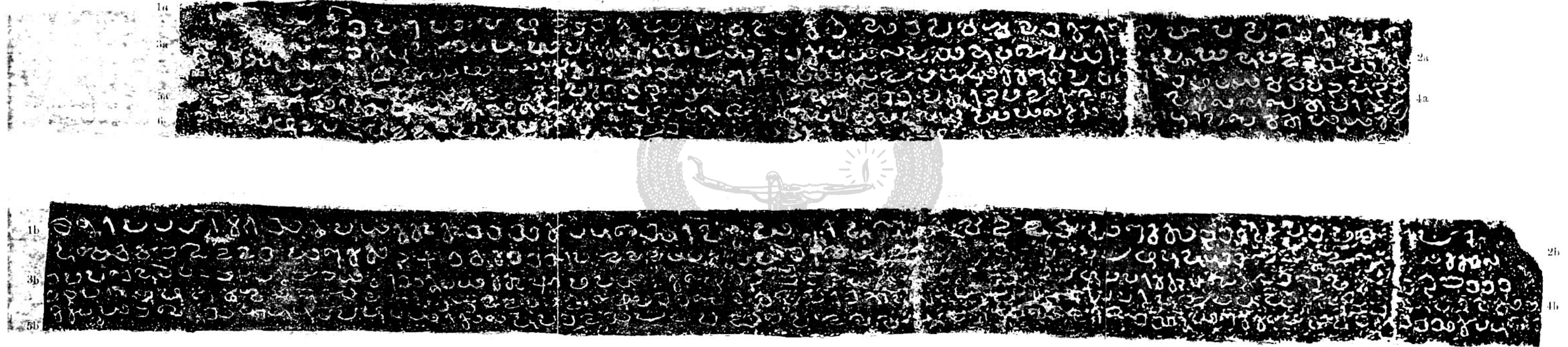
Text.²

- 1 . . . கர் . [ட] கத்துள் வியாழ நிற்க மிரிச்சிகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த காரியமா
வது [1*] திருவெண்மண்டுர் பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு குறத்திகாட்டு எதி
ரங்கவியர் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக்கினு திருவெண்மண்டுர் ஊரா-
- 2 . . . முன்று பொன் கொடுத்து [கொ]ண்ட பூமி [1*] வடுகிகொடும் உதியன்
கொட்டில் பாதியும் இவ்விரண்டு பூமியும் நந்தாவிளக்கினு அமைச்சான்
[1*] இநந்தாவிளக்கினு ஐஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியர் [1*]
இவ்வஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் உழவு அடுத்தாறு ஒருநாள் [முட்]டிக்கில்
- 3 . . . ம் உழுமவகளுக்கு இப்பூமி லிலக்கிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் மு
ழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [1*] முட்டிச்சவனு அனுபந்தம் பறையுமவனும்
பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதின்கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் . . .
. . . நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைந்கழைஞ்சு பொன்தந்த-

1 Compare also the *panchagāṇas* of the epic age and the *aimperuṅḡu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E.

No. 9—TIRUVANVANDUR INSCRIPTION.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-eighths.

- 4 சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்தங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சா
த்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுன்செ
ரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சவ்நரஞ் சுவரனும்
இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சினு
- 5 யிராதொழிவொராயில் இவகளுடைய செல[ரிது]¹ எப்படிப்பட்டி
தும் விலக்கி யுள் தடுத்துவைச்ச மிட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவிய²ன் [1*] ஒரு
தினன் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில் அவன் தந்ததி³ உழுது நின்று நெய்யட்டக்
கடவியர் [1*] இத்திருவிளக்கு வைச்சான் குறத்திகாட்டு அதி-
- 6 ⁴ரன் நன் துழநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுநரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக் கடவியர்[11*]

Translation.

In the month of Vriśchika when Jupiter stood in . . . taka, the following transaction was made:—

Edirañ-Kavirañ of Kuṟattikāḍu gave, by purchase for . 3 poṇ from the ūrār of Tiruveṇmaṇḍur, the two (pieces of) lands Vādugi-kōḍu and a half of Uḍiyañ-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiruveṇmaṇḍūr-Bhaṭāraka. The five representatives (*gaṇattār*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land be stopped for one day, if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūlikkaḷam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the king (Perumāṇaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi) and a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Sēnnañ-Kannañ of Saruppēdimaṅgalam, Sāttañ-Kīrañ of Tālañjeri, Śuvarañ-Sāttañ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Dēvañ-Sēnnañ of Elumuḷaichchēri, Sañkarañ-Suvarañ of Tālaimañ—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Edirañ-Kavirañ of Kuṟattikāḍu. The 'three-hundred' of Nannuḷa-nāḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* of the same Viṣṇu temple at Tiruveṇmaṇḍūr. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōdaivarman,⁵ whose position

1 Compare the restriction,

மிகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினோடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்

occurring in the Tirukkuḍittapam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

2 *y* is engraved below the line.

3 The two *ṭ*'s are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

in the Chêra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarman. The record further mentions, Kumaraṇ-Kunṇappōḷaṇ, and the *muṇḍūrruvar* of Nanṇuḷai-nāḍu.

Text.²

- 1 கொவிந்து கொதைவர்ம்மர்க்குச்செ [ய்யா]மாண்டைக்
கெதிராமாண்டு
2 நன் றுழநாட்டு முந்நாற்றுவரும் சுஞ் செந்தனு மங்கலத்து
குமரங்குன்றப்பொழனு நன் றுழநாட்டு . யனும் இநால்வரும் . . .
3
சுசு திருவெண்மன்றும்

No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chengamachery. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Jñāvarkkāḍu for feeding one thousand brahmans during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvaṇṇaḍūr of about the same period as this, a certain Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkāḍu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Viṣṇu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkāḍu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tirunāḷḡaṇam* and the *poḍuvāḷ* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the *Kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amaichechullu-rutta?*), 50 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *kōyiladhikāri* has here taken the place of *perumānāḍiḡaḷ* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tirunāḷḡaṇam*³ represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gaṇa* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

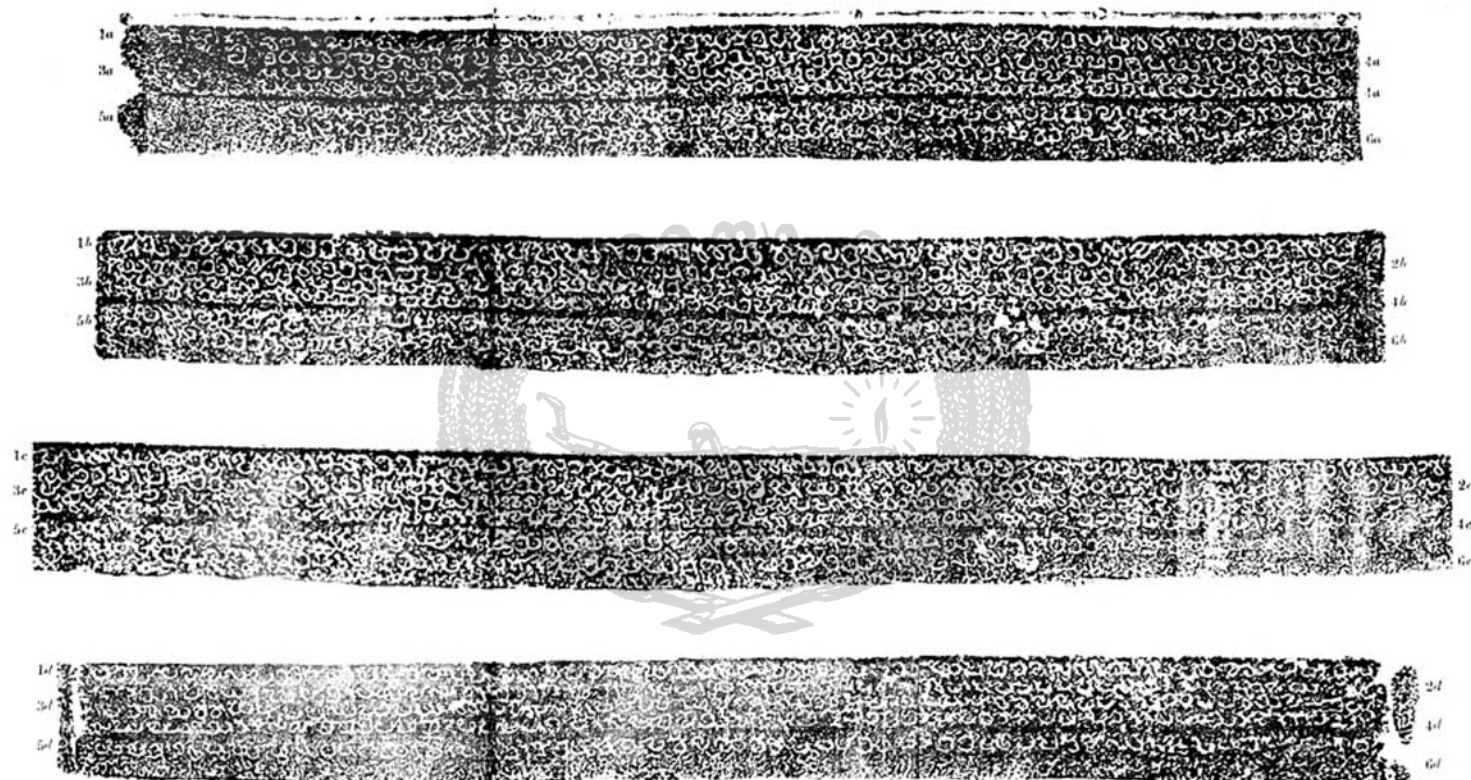
The contributions of cocoanuts, plantains etc. which the *viḷvāriyar* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*⁴ or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, viz.,

1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēṅṅā, a bunch of cocoanuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epir. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 The *utsava-saṅkatas* of the *Rāghavamā* and the *Mahabharata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes: शरैस्सवसकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसंकतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.

3 *Trav. State Manual*. Vol. III, p. 319.



Scale: One-seventh.

3. Kula-aḍakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vālai, a bunch of plantains, and
5. Veṭṭu-ōla, share in the coconut leaves cut.

The *podurāl* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *nirutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumattu-pariam*)¹ was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ[II*] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற்[க*]கன்னியூயிற்று ஸ்ரீயிருண்ட அச்சுவதிநாள் பெருநெய்தல் முக்கால்வட்டத் திருநாள் திருநாள் கணத்தாநம் பொதுவாரும் அன்றோத[த*]தால் கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவது[II*]இத் திருநாள் கணத்தார்க்கு ஸ்ரீவல்க்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன் களத்தினாலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருநாற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞாட்டு[வு]டைப ஆசைச்சல் கொதைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன் கொடுத்துடைய நெல் பதினாழிப்பறைபால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விற்றிரட்டிச்ச [வண்ணம்] பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஈராசிரம் பறையெல்லும் ஆட்டா.
- 2 ண்டும் கன்னியூயிற்றொறும் திருநாள் கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத்தில ஆயிரவர் பிராமமணரை அமிர் து சையிப்பிதாகத் திருநாள் கணத்தார் பொதுவாள் சையி லட்டிக்[கொ]டுத்தான் எதிரங்கவிரன்[II*]இத்திருவாராதனம் பத்துநாளிலும் கன்னியூயிற் றமரவச்சுத்தில் பஞ்சமி துடங்கி நியதி தூறு தூறு மானிடத்தை அமிர் து சையிச்ச ஆறுட்டக்கடவா ஆட்டாண்டும் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும் எதிரங்கவிரனும்[II*]இதர வழியால் [ஒரோத்தர்]ஒரோத்தர் இரட்டிரட்டை குலை³ வாழைக்காயும் ஒரோ குலை³ வாழைப்பழமும்
- 3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரோத்தொருத்த ரிபட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநாழிச் சைய்துப்பும் இருபலஞ் சைய்துபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச் சைய்து கயிரும் பதினாழிச் சைய்துமோரும் கொண்டு வந்து தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள் கொண்டு வந்து அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னைய விழாவாரியரும் பொதுவாரொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத்தமிர்து சையிக்க கடவர்[II*]பொதுவா ளிருநாறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்து கொடுக்க கடவன்[II*]திரிஞ்ஞு பந்திரடியில் முன்னையமிர்து சையிச்ச விழாப்பனி புறப்படக்கடவர் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும்[II*]இ[லை]யும் விறகும் வத்திர விழாச்செய்யுமவகள் கொண்டு
- 4 அடிக்க கடவர்[II*]இப்பரிசெய் இத்திருவிழாவித்து எதிரங்கவிர னமைச்சசெலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவர் திருநாள் கணத்தாநம் பொதுவாரும்[II*]இப்பரி சொட்டினகாலத்து முட்டாதெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில் அமைச்சுள்ளு[றுத்த]கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு தாற்றுக்கழைஞ்ஞும் நாடுவாழமுவர்க்கு அயம்பதின கழைஞ்ஞும் வாழ்க்கைவாழமுவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்ட[ப்]பட்ட[த*]கடவர்[II*]இடையிடன் இச்செலவினு விரோதிக்கில் இத்தண்டம் பொ-

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. III, p. 335.

2 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 85 of 1086).

3 குலை looks like கரு.

[ன்*]னும் பட்டு தவைக்கும் பந்திரு கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு
காட்டப்பெறக்¹ கடவன் [II*]திருநாள்க்கணத்தா-

- 5 னுடைய கரியில்ப் புக்கு விலக்கமவரும் பொருள் தவருமவரும் இ[த்*]தண்ட-
டம்படக்கடவியர் [II*]இவ்மைஞ்ஞு கறியும் முட்டி யூண்வொன்று கு-
றையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞு கணத்தான் இரண்டரைக் காணம்
பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு [க் கொண்டு] அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியன்
[II*] களத்தினுலொடி [நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சங்கொதை தந்து செல்லானாகில்
³முழாவு திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவானும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் கூடி-
மறொரு பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராண்மை செய்யி-
ச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணுழிப்பறையா விருதுறுபறை
- 6 க அரிகருதிது⁴ கொடுக்ககடவன் [II*] எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததியும் இப் பூமி
காராண்மைச் செய்து நெல்லளப்பா னுற்றதொழிகில் கணத்தாரும் பொ-
துவானும் தாங்களெய் உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவர் [II*] எதிரங்கவி-
ர[னும்] அவன் பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ருக்கக்கடவர் பொதுவானும் கண-
த்தாரும் [II*] எதிரங்கவிரனாக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளைக்கும் தந்ததிற்கும்-
[மு]டைய-

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of Aśvati which was a Sunday in the month of Kanni (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in Kanyā-rāśi when, in the temple at Peruneydal were assembled together the *tirunāḷyaṇattār* (i. e., the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāl*. In order that one thousand Brāhmanas may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *tirunāḷyaṇattār* in the month of Kanni, Edirañ-Kaviraṇ of Jñāvalkāḍu gave with libation of water to this body of *tirunāḷyaṇam*, the land called Kalattinālōḍi with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *parai* of seed-paddy measured by the *parai* holding ten *nāḷi*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *parai* of paddy measured by the *parai* of ten *nāḷi*, given by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ to Ādicheṇ Kōḍai of Muññi-nāḍu. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviraṇ shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanni and have the *ārāṭṭu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *viḷā-vāriyār* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāḷi* of pure salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāḷi* of good curds, ten *nāḷi* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāl* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāl* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the bali-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāl*. Those who perform the Uttira-festival shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for பாட்டம் பெறக்கடவன்; if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary.

2 Engraved above the line.

3 Read விழாவு.

4 This is not understood.

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original.

Thus, the *tirunālgaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kaḷañju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kaḷañju* to the *vāḷkkaivāḷumavaṇ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *iḍaiyīḍaṇ* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kaḷañju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunālgaṇattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *gaṇattār* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves and nuts. If Ādichchan-Kōḍai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattinālōḍi, the *tirunālgaṇattār* the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviraṇ shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ, shall pay annually two hundred *paraī*, as measured by the *paraī* holding eight *nāḷi*, and If Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy).

(In that case), the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall protect Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his male and female relations.² Edirañ-Kaviraṇ . . . belonging to his male and female relations.

No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāsi. The inscription of the Kāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulaśekhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri who was staying at Neḍiyataḷi, granting an annual income of forty *kalam* along with *arandai* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Muttūru, who promised not to collect the *arandai* thereafter.

1 *Adai* means 'leaf' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'அடையிலைநல்லதோர் கோழம் அடையிலைநல்லதோர் அயில்'—*Tiruppallandu*, though *adai-kāy* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt.

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, viz., Kāmakkaṇappalli¹ and Kaḍamba-nāḍu². Of these Kāpālimangalam and Kāmakkaṇappalli appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Neḍiyatali³ is mentioned in two records of Tirukkākkarai. Muttārukūṟam figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Veḷir chiefs. A place named Muttūrumūlai⁴ is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūru⁵ may possibly be Muttūru in the Tiruvalla taluk.

Padi or *Kuḍippadi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Punnaittalappati⁶ and Pūlaikkūḍippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi. The term *āṭṭaikkol* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-naṇaiḥch-arūḷiyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Padiyurutti* (l. 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The sparing use of the dialectic forms *olla* (l. 4) *arūḷiyār* (l. 23, 70, 71), and *va-anna* (l. 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandan* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *deśavāḷis*; its literary synonym is 'misery'.

Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] இரா-
- 2 மாண்டைக்கெஞர் எ-
- 3 டடாமாண்டு குலை-
- 4 செகர கொயிலதி-
- 5 காரிகள் திருவிரா-
- 6 ச்சியஞ் செல்லா-
- 7 னின்ற கர்க்கடகத்-
- 8 தில் வியாழத்தி-
- 9 ல விரிச்சிக-
- 10 ஞாயிற்று நாறு
- 11 தனியையுந் திரு-
- 12 க்குன்றப்பொழை-
- 13 யுங் கூட்டி கொ-
- 14 ண்டு நெடியதளி
- 15 இருந்நருளி பெரு-
- 16 நெய்தல் ஆட்டைக்-
- 17 கொளால் நால்ப்ப-
- 18 தின் கலந் நெல்-
- 19 லும் பெருநெய்த-
- 20 ல் அரந்தையும் அ-

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II. p. 154.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 183.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 47.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163.

5 மதுரைச்செவ்வழிநெய்தல் விரிவினெழு மன்றம்

மணியுத் தம் விரகவாழ் சுவை நாவுகோசிக் கவன்க—

Uppanāḷisandēṣam, v. 125.

6 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 82.

7 This is registered as No. 15 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 A. D. (Also No. 87 of 1086).

No. 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

*First side.**Second side.*

1
3
5
7
9
11
13
15
17
19
21
23
25
27
29

കേരള സാഹിത്യ
അക്കാദമി

Third side.

59
61
63
65
67
69
71

31
33
35
37
39
41
43
45
47
49
51
53
55
57

Scale: One-sevenths.

- 21 ட்டில்பெரூய் தி-
- 22 ருககை நனைச்ச-
- 23 றுளியார் [I*] ஆட்டைக்
- 24 கொள நமக்காரமும்
- 25 மாபாரதமுந் தி-
- 26 ருவள்ளம் பண்-
- 27 னியருளியார் அ-
- 28 மைச்சள்ளு பதி-
- 29 ய குலைசெகரகொ
- 30 யிலதிகாரிகள் [II*]

Second face.

- 31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்
- 32 நாற்பதின்கல-
- 33 மும் அரந்தையு-
- 34 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
- 35 ஊரும் பொதுவா-
- 36 ளும் அட்டில்பெ-
- 37 ரூய் கொண்டார் [II*] கொயி-
- 38 லதிகாரிக-
- 39 ள் காபாலிமங்க-
- 40 லத்தும் முத்தூ-
- 41 ற்றும் ஒள்ள
- 42 குடிபதி-
- 43 கு திருமுக-
- 44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்
- 45 பண்ணிக்² காம-
- 46 க்கானப்பள்ளி
- 47 இராமந் தாய-
- 48 னும் கடம்மன்
- 49 னாட்டு நாராய-
- 50 ண நாராயணனும்
- 51 ணர்ப்பொதுவா-
- 52 ளுந் கூடி திரு-
- 53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-
- 54 த்தி [I*] இரண்டுந்-
- 55 [க்] குடிபதியு-
- 56 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
- 57 [மு]க்கால்வ-
- 58 ட்டத்து வந்து

Third face.

- 59 கூடி அ-
- 60 ரந்தை³ அ-

1 அமைச்சுள்ளு[தி*]நிய seems to be a better reading. Compare also அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயில திகாரிகளுக்கு (T. A. S., II, p. 44) and அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிக்கு (T. A. S., V, p. 35)

2 Read பண்ணக்.

3 The word *arandai* has been used in the sense of 'misery' in *Silappadigaram*.

அரந்தை கெடுத்து வரந்தருயிவனென ஆடித்திங்கள் கவையிலுங்கோர் — *Uraippeukattai*, 3.

- 61 டிக்கும-¹
 62 தொழிஞ்-
 63 ஞொமென்-
 64 று கல் எ-
 65 முதி நா-
 66 டிக்கு கொ
 67 தெதார்
 68 திருவுள்-
 69 ளம் பண்-
 70 ணியருளி-
 71 ய மார்-
 72 க்கமெ [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ, when Jupiter was in Karkatāka and in the month of Vriśchika, Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *talis*² and Tirukkunṛappōlai (with him), was pleased to be present in Neḍiyataḷi, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *aṭṭippēru* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāl* received as *aṭṭippēru* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai*. Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūru; Rāman-Tāyaṅ of Kamakkānappalli and Nārāyaṅaṅ-Nārāyaṅaṅ of Kadamba-nāḍu as well as the *ūr-poduvāl* conjointly informed the chieftains of (this) royal order; the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvaraśvāmin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole, is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. E., Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription:—

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Simha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 அடிக்குமது in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Aḍukkuvadu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.'

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logan defines *pālī* as an intermediary between the *koṇ* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged; but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi. The Kōyiladhikāri *i. e.*, the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Paṇāṅgāvu in Kurakkēṇi-Kollam (*i. e.*, Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāṇdyas, burnt the fort of Kōttāru and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēṇāḍu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvaḍi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēṇāḍu king Rāma-Tiruvaḍi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthāṇu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāriḷ and Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ respectively have been copied at Peruneyil¹ and Tiruvālūr² and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Makara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (புது . . . மாகாணம்) opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkāṭaka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kanni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyil epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kanni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyil and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulaśēkhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulaśēkhara-chakravartin who was the Kōyiladhikāri of [Rāma]-Tiruvaḍi³. The title of 'Chakravartin' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirāḷyāṁ chella-niṇṇa*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi' to whom Kulaśēkhara was the Kōyiladhikāri may refer to the god⁴ at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvaḍi-Kōyiladhikāriḷ as the name of the

1. vide page 38 *supra*.

2. *Trac. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV. p. 145.

3. Another reading also seems possible—செங்கய்யன் திருவாடி, who may have been an earlier namesake of Virarāyiravarman of A. D. 1645. (*Cochin Manual*, p. 80)

4. *Tiruvaḍi* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, of Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭṭaraka-Tiruvaḍi.

king and Kulaśekhara-chakravartigaḷ as an *alias* (*āyina*) or his regal title. If however, Rāma-Tiruvadi was the king and Kulaśekhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśekhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Pappaiṅgāvu¹ at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkiramāṇ, who was administering the Quilon territory (l. 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too-damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochin Rajas still style themselves as *Kōyiladhikāri*gaḷ in documents relating to the landed property of temples,² their usual title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gangādhara Virakēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikāri'gaḷ.³

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmeśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. As a Kshatriya, his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Murajapam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression', but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brahmans or to *tavaiyāriyār* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhūsurās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmaṇas' (ll. 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident:

(i) Vīra-Kēraḷavarman Tiruvadi⁴ paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain *Dēśika*ḷ (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilaimēlkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōṭṭas* of land and 30,000 *paṇam* to the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

1. This palace also occurs in the Mamballi plate of Vallabhaṅḍōḍai (A. D. 974) - *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 9. *Uppanilisaṇḍēsam* (c. 1350) has in verse 74:

നേരേചിനെ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവനത്തന്നകംപു.

അരവം കെങ്ങെഖിലജഗദനം കരേരവീം കരേരവീം തടം.

2. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

3. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.

4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

(ii) Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman¹ made a similar expiatory donation to that temple for having put to death several men in the war that took place near Kīlīmānūr:

(iii) Vīra Ravivarman² bestowed some gifts to the temple at Trivandrum for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kuruvai-illam; and

(iv) Vīra Rāmavarman³ atoned for certain atrocities committed by him in Āykoṇam, Vīranārāyaṇachēri and Puliyakuruchchī by making a gift of an elephant to the temple.

These penalties were called *garvakkattu* or amercement for highhandedness; and other similar instances may be multiplied. In all these cases, the question of expiation came in only when sins were committed on the king's own volition during wars of aggression or in petty acts of despotism, and it therefore seems probable that the incident recorded in the Quilon inscription may have been also of a similar nature.

One other point deserves mention, *viz.*, that in both this and the Peruneyil epigraphs the king is stated to have been accompanied by the four *talī*:

நா லுதனியையுந் திருக்குன்றம்பொழையுந் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு நெடியதளி
யிருந்தருளி —Peruneyil,

நா லுதனியு மாசிரம் அறுதாற்றுவரும் இந்நாடுவாழ்க்கையான்
முதலாயுள்ள சாமந்தரும் திருக்கைக்கீழ் கூடியிருக்க —Quilon.

The version of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*⁴ is that the brahman oligarchy which originally ruled Kēraḷa found itself incompetent to discharge its administrative duties satisfactorily owing to internal dissensions, that it tried the rule by 'protectors' or *Rakshāpuruṣhas* (for short terms of three years) elected from the four villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruñjellūr and Chēnganniyūr, in which had been located the four *kalakams* or electing assemblies representing the 64 *grāmams* of Kēraḷa, that finding this expedient also unsatisfactory, it got down Viceroys from adjacent countries to rule over them and afford protection, and that as a check on these selected kings, they finally formed four new assemblies at Irinjalakuda, Mūlikkaḷam Paravūr and Ayirānikkaḷam, which were situated near enough to each other, unlike the original four which were so far apart as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These four new assemblies had their own meeting places called *talīs*⁵ (assembly halls) in the capital itself: *viz.*, Mēṭaḷi (Mūlikkaḷam), Kīṭaḷi (Ayirānikkaḷam), Neḍiyataḷi (Paravūr) and Chingapurattaḷi (Irinjalakuda), which were controlled by their presidents called *talīyāḍirimār*, who were selected celibates from certain influential families. According to the Peruneyil inscription the king

1. *The Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 265.

2. DO. p 266

3. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII., p. 123.

4. நாடு தன வ்ராபலிகை அஃக கலிஅ நிறுக்காந்துரை நாடுவோடுகூட ப்ரவணியு. கோவிலகனதில் நயிபனா தன ர கலகனதில் கலிஅ பலிகை ஹிபாந் ர ததி-
யு. லிந்து. மேலததி, கிசனததி, கனகியனததி, பிசபுரனததி, ஹனததில் ஹகன
கலிகனவத் ததிவாநிவாந்—
Kēraḷōlpatti, p. 14.

5. Compare நா லுதனியும் தனிக்கடுத்த இராமம்—*Epig. Ind.*, IV-295.

Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri was at the time seated in the Neḍiyatali hall (at his capital?) surrounded by (the presidents of) all the four assemblies and (the president of) the Tirukkunnappula-(sanketam) or the Edappalli chief (?) and issued an order making certain gifts in favour of the Peruneyil temple. This order was conveyed to the chief residents (*kudipati*) of two villages of Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Muttūru by Kāmakkānappalli Rāman-Tāyaṇ and Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaḍamba-nāḍu. It may be noted that the *taḷiyāḍiris* of the Neḍiyatali were selected from Iṇḍidurutti and Kaḍamba-nāḍu. Tirukkunnappula seems to be identical with the village of the same name belonging to the Edappalli chief near Karttignappalli in the Quilon Division. There is also another Iṇgunnappula² in the island of Vaipin, the famous Subrahmanya temple of which was, before its absorption by the Cochin State, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *yōgam* wielding high sacerdotal power.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Neḍiyatali Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṇṇali belonging to Muḷikkaḷam (Mūshikkakkaḷam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirunelli. Neḍiyatali and Mēṇṇali³ occurring in the records of Tirukkākkarai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

Text.

1	வலி ஸீ [1*]	18	ரக்கெணிக் கொல்ல-
2	கொல்லந்தொ-	19	த்து பணங்காவி-
3	ன்றி யிருநா-	20	ன் கொயிலகத்தி-
4	ற்றெழுபத்-	21	ருந்ருள ஆரிய-
5	தெட்டாமாண்-	22	ரொடு வந்த விரொத-
6	டைக் கன்னியி-	23	த்தினு ப்ராயச்சித்-
7	ல் வியாழம் புக்-	24	த்தத்தினு புத்தன் அ-
8	க [சிங்க ஞா] யிறு-	25	றையால் பதினாழி-
9	ஒன்பது சென்-	26	க்கொள்னும் பறையா-
10	ற நான் இரண்டா-	27	ல் நியதம் ஒருப-
11	மாண்டைக் கெதி-	28	றைச் செய்து நெல்
12	ர் பதி [நொரா] மாண்டை-		Second face.
13	[ய் இ] ராமர் ⁵ திருவ-	29	இராமெச்-
14	டி கொயிலதிகா-	30	சுவரத்து
15	ரிகளாயின ஸீரு-	31
16	லசெகரச் சக்கி-	32
17	வர்த்திகள் கு-	33	... ஆரி-

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. III. p. 598.

2 Cochin Manual, p. 373.

3 Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. III. p. 172, 167.

4 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Collns. for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).

5. Another reading கொடியச் seems possible. Compare also:

அகிலபுரீம் திநுடெகருள ராயிரகோணிபாவா

கெல்புரீடிம் மலிகவிவாயிரகோணிபாவா. — *Uppanūḷisandēgam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

34 ய ஸ்ரஹண-
35 ருங் கூடி-
36 யிருந்நட-
37 த் தி . . பக்க-
38 ல்
39 யக்கங் கை-
40 யில்த் தி-
41 ருக்கை ந-
42 னைச்சருள
43 நான்கு த-
44 ளியு மா-
45 யி[ரம் அ]-
46 று தூற்று-
47 வரும் [இன்]-
48 னுடு வாழ்க்-
49 கையான் விக்-
50 கிரமனான
51
52 க்கன் முத-
53 லாயுள்ள
54 சாமந்தரு-
55 ந் திருக்கை-
56 க்கிழ்க் கூ-
57 டியிருக்க-
58 த் திருக்கை
59 நனைச்ச[ரு]-
60 ளியாவிது [1*]
61 அச்செரி-
62 க்கல் காரா-
63 ண்மை செ-
64 த வெணுட்-
65 டு குமா-
66 னுதையவ-
67 ரம்மன்

Third face.

68 இ
69
70 ஐந்நாழி கொன்னு-
71 மிடங்கழியால் முப்-
72 பத்தறுகல் நெல் வி-
73 ராமெசுரத்து மண்ட-
74 பத்தில் [கூட்டங்]-
75 கூடி யிருந்நதில்
76 இவ்வாண்டு முதல்
77 திரு . . . வைக்கு-
78 ம் திருக்கூத்துங்
79 கூடிச் செ[வது] [1*]

80 கிற்றடிச்சுவாத்-
81 து மெல்லொழித்தி . .
82 . லு செந்நெல் மு-
83 ப்பத்தறு கலம்-
84 . . . லிப்படி-
85 பதினெண்க் கல-
86 ம் நெல்லால் செ-
87 லவிடுவிது [1*] வைச்ச
88 நெல் பதினெண்கல-
89 த்தால் தொள்ளாயிர-
90 நாழி பலாக்காட்டு க-
91 ண்ணந் தெவன் செல-
92 விடுவிது [1*] தொள்ளா-
93 யிரநாழி மெல் இவ்-
94 லூர் (ஆர்) சத்திரம-
95 ன் செல்விடுவிது [1*]
96 செலவு முட்டிகின்றெ
97 மயாலஞ்ஞா-
98 ழி அரி தண்டபட்டு
99 செல்விடுவிது [1*] காராள-
100 ர் முவ்ருங் கூடி செரிக்-
101 கல் . . காராளரும் திரு-
102 க்குணவாததெவர் திருந-
103 டையில் கொண்டு அந்நாழி-
104 க்கு ஒக்கு மிட[ங்] கழி
105 நா தூற்று நாழி நெலாட்-
106 டை காராளரு செரிக்கல் கொ-
107 டப்பது [1*] யிவண்ண[ம*]மை- x
108 ச்சமைக்கு . . . கு-
109 ணவாயிரனும் யிக்கடை

Fourth face.

110 கடமையா-
111 ல்
112 டின் றும-
113 திச்சு ஒ-
114 கரு . . .
115 -ன நுநாழி
116 உரியால்
117
118 யிருநாழி
119 அக்கிரம்
120 பதினாழி
121 இப்பெருமா-
122 ள் நடை சில-
123 விற்கு அவ-
124 திறிற்கு நா-
125 முரி கிற்ற-

126	டிச்சுரத்து	139
127	மொலொடி-க்-	140
128	கு நாழி	141	மிசாநங்-
129	.. கொடுத்த-	142	கையாடியார்
130	து . க . ன்	143	ஆறிக்கு ..
131	ற மங்க-	144	ச்செனமுத்து [1*]
132	லத் திரவி	145	அறைஞர் ஆசா-
133	யிராயரன் ¹	146	ரி கையெழுத்
134	கையெழுத்து [1*]	147	து [1*] திருப்பெ-
135	.. ன ..	148	ஞர் மறைக்-
136	ல	149	க . . கண்டாச்ச-
137	க்களுங்	150	ன் கையெ-
138	யும் ..	151	முத்து ஸ்ரீ [11*]

No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmesvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Sāttap Marudappillai of Kāyalil and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount.

Text.²

- 1 சிறி கொல்லம் ஞாயிந் நாயினர் திருவிசுவநாதைய னாயினர் [1*] தெவ-
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார் தகைவாய் கிடந்து விடிவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-
- 2 யிராவணர் தொட்டம்(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிற்புரையிடம் ஆக
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [1*] கிழெல்லை முனைங்கட-
- 3 வத்துக்குப் பொகிற வழிக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-
மெலெல்லை வாஸ்தடையார் குடியிருப்புக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை
- 4 மருமாண்டிக்கு பொரக³ நாராயப்பெருவழிக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்த நா-
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாத்தன் மருதப்பிள்ளை
- 5 கொண்டு பண்ட[1*]ரத்தார் சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்
பக்கல் அச்ச பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிக்கையில் இவற்கு ஆக இரு-
நாழி அரி-
- 6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இடுவொமாகவும் [11*] உருபிடத்தில்
மெல்படை நாலும் காயலில் [1*] சாத்தன் நாயனார் [மு]ம்மநால் [11*]

1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above.

2 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 Read பொகிற.

Translation.

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvaṇa-tōttam, Arakkal-puraiyidam, and Vayaliṭ-puraiyidam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following:—

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Mupaiṅgaḍavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāṭṭaḍaiyār*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāṇḍi.

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāttaṇ Marudapillai of Kāyalil, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *iṇṇaḷ* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupīṭham* are by Śāttaṇ Nayanār Mumman of Kāyalil.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilaṇ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-maṅgai-mānagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Kuḍai-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuḍa-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koḍuntami!*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*śendami!*) which was current in and around Madura, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kuḍanāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kiḷavaṇ* means 'the headman of the village (*uṇimai-yuḍaiyavaṇ*)', the suffix *kiḷamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொல்லம் நாயக மாண்டு சித்திரைமாதம் இத்திருவாதிஸ்
தருதி-
- 2 லைகாலும் படியும் குடைநாட்டு² அங்கைமங்கலமான விரபாண்டியன் ம-
[ங்]கை

1 தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங் சந்தா வேண் ஸ்ரீ சீதம் மலாடு புனாடு செந்தமிழ் சே
பத்தி யருவா வதன் வடக்கு— நன்றய ரேதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டெண்.

2 In a Chulapuram record of Kollam 519, occurs the following:
ஸ்ரீபாண்டிமண்டலத்து குடைநாட்டு அங்கைமங்கலமான மதுரோதையப்பெருந்தேரு.

- 3 மானகரத்து நாவலூர் கிழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமுதியார்
4 செய்தத் திருப்பணி உ முஹுஷு உ

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilāṇ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇ-ḍiyamaṅgai-māṇagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Tiruvellunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves of which are beaten thin like olai leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruvellunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kappan-Kappan of Maṇṇūr as the *poduvāl* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *ān*, *ār* in some cases like *koḍuttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completely discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.*, Vīra Kōḍaivarman of the ḷaiyidattu-svarūpam who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmayarman of Kīlappērūr. The ḷaiyidattu-svarūpam was the name of one among those small chieftaincies called Vaḍakkumkūru, Tekkumkūru, Paṇḍalam, ḷaiyaḍam, Quilon, Ambalapuḷa, Edappalli etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēṇāḍu until the time of the Travancore king Mārtaṇḍavarman, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the ḷaiyaḍam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Sheñcōṭṭa, Valliyūr, Kōṭṭarakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgaḍ;¹ and Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Tiruvellunnannūr records must have been a Kōṭṭarakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. I, p. 340-1.

state that his subordinates (*tiruvaḍikkamainda-kōyilkanmi*) gave some lands for the conduct of the morning service (*ushahpājā*) and for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) in the temple of Eṇḍalaiyappaṇ at Tiruvelunnannūr.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīlappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, *vi:.*

‘തിരുവെള്ളുന്നന്നൂർ പട്ടാമകർക്കു നൂറുനാലമ്പല മാണ്ട കുംഭമാസം വൃ ചെല്ല നാൾ’

it appears probable that the year 663, if it is not a scribe's mistake for 793 of the other record, may refer to the number of years that had elapsed since the Tiruvelunnannūr temple was constructed; and if the temple may be presumed to have come into existence in about Kollam 130, 663 years after its erection would coincide with Kollam 793, the year quoted in the other record, and both the records would then belong to the time of the same Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman. That this practice was not uncommon of dating temple records from the date of construction of those particular temples which inaugurated a local era, may be seen from other instances in the cases of the ¹Tirukkandiyūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temples. It may however be noted that no other document in this set of copper-plates relating to the Tiruvelunnannūr temple is similarly dated.

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vēṇāḍu king called Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakēraḷa Rāmavarman will ordinarily signify king Rāmavarman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was followed by a king named Rāmavarman in the following instances only:—

- (i) ²Vīra-Kēraḷa Mārttāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārttāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,
- (ii) ³Venṇumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Vīra-Kēraḷavarman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Venṇumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman in about Kollam 722.
- (iii) ⁴Uṇṇi Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rāmavarman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruvelunnannūr set does not mention any Vēṇāḍu kings but only a Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Ilayaḍattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 78.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265 and No. I. of 1084.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēṇāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīlappērār and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets.

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. orri-ōla,
8. nēorri-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kaḍavāyppa-ōla or mūrī,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes.

Karpūra-vila-ōla is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription¹ of Rājarāja I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai: 'கற்பூரவிலையும் ஒழிஞ்சு சாசனம் செய்தபடி. It is understood from a Kākatiya record² found at Mōṭṭuppalī in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *panam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Gaṇapatiḍēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpuravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensable camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr will make this clear:

നല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു നെല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്നു കപ്പുരവില കല്ലിച്ചു ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പുരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക' and
കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ടു തേചത്തിന്നു വാളെങ്കോട്ടു ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു കപ്പുരവില കല്ലിച്ചു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പുരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക'

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1. *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 197, 'കപ്പുരമുനകു ചീനകപ്പുരാനകു മുഖാലകു വേല ൩ ൧ കി ൧ ൩൩'

Tōraṇa-taragu-viḷa-ōla— *Tōraṇa* is the '*tōraṇa-viḷakku*' (the arch of lamps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease; so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *viḷakku-pāṭṭam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōraṇa* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തോരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ച തോരണത്തരകം എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ . . . ഇത്തോരണത്തന്നെ എളുപ്പം തോരണത്തിനകത്തു ഒള്ള മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിനംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷ്ണുവിളക്കിന്നും തിരിയും കൂട

It may be noted that *Tōraṇattōṭṭam* was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of *Sthānu-ravi*, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōraṇa-kāṇikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the *Vellāṇi* inscription of *Vīra-Rāma-varman* the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōraṇas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattāpanam-śeyḍu*) and the discus (*tiruvāḷikkal-nāṭṭi*) were used in respect of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (cf. Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man.' *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhāi-perumakkaḷ*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are:—

Tiruveḷunnannūr	is Veḷinnallūr in the Kottarakara taluk
Ādicchanallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakuḷam	is in the Nedumangad taluk
Muṭṭakkāyal	is probably Muṭṭakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīlappērūr	is in the Chirayinkil taluk
Ḥaṅguḷam	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅguḷam	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunnummēl	the Kilimanur chief was known as 'Kunnummēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Kariviḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōḍu is in the Quilon taluk.
Tōṭṭamaṇ	

No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.**Text.¹**

- 1 കൊല്ലം ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ൪ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു എ-
- 2 ഞ്ഞലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമന്മാരക തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുള കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്ക[1*] കാരിമരുക ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളംതൈലത്തു ചെരുവെരുംക-
- 3 ഉത്തു കന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കുമിനെക്കുളം കള്ള നാലതൊട്ടിനകം ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ൪൭൫ വിത്തുപ്പാടും ഇതിന്നു ഇ-
- 4 തകരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരടങ്ങളും കരക്കാടും തൊട്ടമണ്ണം കരക്കുടിവരിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്ന ഉഷപൂജവകെക്കു കൽപ്പിച്ചു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂ-
- 5 ർ എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്റെ തിരുനടയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീരകോതവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കുമിനെക്കു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēḍam in the Kollam year 711, the *tavaiyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnennūr in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperuṅḡulam of Iḷaṅḡulam-dēṣam in Kāri-marugū-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vira-Kōḍavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnummel-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely—

the lands comprising many *taḍi* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *para* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkāḍu, Tōṭṭaman and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr and the subordinates of śrī Vira-Kōḍavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.**Text.²**

- 1 ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മിതുന്നമാസം ൪൯ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാരിയമാടത്തിന്നകൽ എണ്ടലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമന്മാരക തവയാരിയർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇ-
- 2 തന്നരുള കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്ക [1*] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലു മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ കരകളും തൈലത്തിന്നു കന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കുമിനെക്കു

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 3 ഒളള കരക്കുളം ഉളളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരയടങ്ങുറക്കും കൂട തിരു
വെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻറ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കമാറു കൽ
പ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരക വി-
- 4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താർ കൊയിക്കുമിടെറു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ ഇന്നിലങ്ങുറക്കും പുരയടങ്ങുറക്കും കൂട
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചൊപുകെട്ടി
- 5 ഇടങ്ങുറ്റിയാൽ തന്നു പൊരുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൦൦
ചൊതാക [H*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tuvuyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in the presence of the god Endalayappan, wrote the following account:—

The lands in Karakuḷam-dēṣam in the Mudel-nāḍu of Ādiccheanallūr belonging to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vira-Kōḍaivarmān-Tiruvāḍi of Kunnumēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely:

the lands of Karakkuḷam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) to the god Endalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr and a deed (*tōraṇataraḡuvilai-yōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkanmi*) to the god of the temple.

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *sembukatti-idangali* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was 7 *para* and 5 *idangali* of good paddy as *karppūru-vila*.

No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

Text.¹

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ന്നാനുമിരു മാണ്ട കുപത്തായറ ച ചെന്ന
നാറു ആതിച്ചനെല്ലർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ കരിവിളെ ദേശത്തിന്നു കീഴപ്പെ-
- 2 ള്ളർ ശ്രീവീരകരളരാചവർമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്കുമിടക്കു ഒളള ക
രിവിളെയും മെൽമണ്ണും ഉളളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുര-
- 3 പിന്നും കരപ്പുരയടങ്ങുറക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ
ൻറ തൊരണം വച്ചു രക്ഷിക്കമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇതിന്നു എഴുക കിഴക്കു
- 4 കരക്കളത്തിന്നും പൊരാതു തെക്കു കടലാത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു പൊരാതു പടി
ത്തായിറു മന്നെൻമിറെക്കു പൊരാതു വടക്കു കരിവിളെ എണ്ടലെയ-
- 5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പൊരാതു ഇന്നാൽ എഴുകെക്കകത്തി അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ
ത്തിക്കു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചൊപുകെട്ടിയ ൭ യാൻ തന്നു പൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-
- 6 ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൦൦ ചൊതാക ശ്രീ [H*]

1 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. C.

Translation.

In the 663rd year of the god Bhattāraka of Tiruveḷunnannūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vīra-Kēraḷa-Rāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappēruṟ, namely:

Karivīḷ, Mēlman inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* (an arch of lamps) to god Eṇḍalayappan in Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of these lands are (the following):

- in the east, up to Karakuḷam,
- in the south, up to the lands called the Kaḍelā-tōraṇa,
- in the west, up to Mannenchirai, and
- in the north, up to Eṇḍalayappān-kāvu in Karivīḷ.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *sembukaṭṭiya-paṛa* (copper *paṛa* of the temple) as *karppūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *paṛa* and 5 *iḍangali* of good paddy. Prosperity!

No. 19.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman of Kollam 793.

Text.¹

- 1 " ൭ ൯൪൩ ലാണ്ടു കമ്പയായുറ ച ചെന്ന നാൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്കൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുന്മാരെ തവെയായിയർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന-
- 2 തളിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1*] മുട്ടെക്കായിൽ തെചത്തു മെൽപ്പടി എലായിൽ കീഴപ്പേരൂർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരള രാമവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കെറക്കു ഒള്ള തടി പലവിനാൽ
- 3 നിലം ൪൪൫ ൭ വിത്തുപാടും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഉഷപുജക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരളരാമവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക-
- 4 ന്കെറം തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [1*] ഇന്നിലത്തിന്നു എളുക്ക കിഴക്കു മുന്നിക്കളത്തിന്റെ വരമ്പിന്നു പടിഞ്ഞാറെയെ തെക്കു ഉമെയെല്ലർ തൈവരെടെ ചാനിനി-
- 5 ലത്തിന്നു വടക്കു പടിഞ്ഞാറെയെ ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്കു കിഴക്കു വടക്കു ഇടത്തുതത്തുവരംപിന്നു തെക്കു ഇന്നാലു എളുകെക്കകത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ൪൪൫ ൭ - ൦ ഉഷപു-
- 6 ജക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കളൊ ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11*]

1 Registered as No. 6 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record.

Translation.

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriyar* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in presence of god Eṇḍalaiyappan and wrote the following account after deliberation:-

The subordinates of Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḷappērūr gave lands many *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *para* of seed in Muṭṭakkāyil-elāy in the same *dēśam* for the early morning worship of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of this land are:—

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūñnikkuḷam tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *sānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallūr,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilañjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Iḍatturutti-paraṃbu.

The temple officials of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *para* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god.

No. 20.—A record dated in Kollam 878.

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*pillar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues.

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaścitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times; but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in

addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*² quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhavāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Deśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *aḍukkuvaḍu* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was 'a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kāṇam* consideration, which a *kāṇamdār* had to pay to the *jenmi* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kāṇappāṭṭam* lease'. It also represented the small fee³ of 10 *paṇam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nīṭṭu* or commission.

In this record Śaṅkaran-Kanḍan of Idamana who had to pay 240 *paṇam* for the *prāyaścittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i. e., 48 *paṇam*, and in exchange therefor set apart two bits of land each of one *para* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually $7\frac{1}{2}$ *para* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *para* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *aḍukkuvaḍu* fee was for the renewals of the *pāṭṭam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāṭṭanel*) on these lands.

Text.

- 1 "അയ്യെ മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം ഒ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ചയും രൊഹിണിയും പൂ
വപ[ക്ഷ]ത്തു തൃതിയയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെ-
- 2 നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽ²ാടത്തിങ്ങൽ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക
ഇരു[ന്നരു*]ള കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യൊല കരണമാവിതു[*]
തിരുവെളുന്നെനൂർ പ-
- 3 ടുരകെരെടെ പിള്ളരെ ഇടമനെ ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ വെലൻ ചൈതതിനു
പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചൈയ്യമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച രാശിവണം പാഴയം അടുക്കവതു
രാശി.
- 4 പണെ രണ്ടു കൂട രാശിവണം ചാച്ചയ്യ നും ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ തനിക്ക
പടിഞ്ഞായിറു ചിറവുകൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെനൂർ തെച്ചത്തു കാളവയെ
ലിൽ എലാ-

1 Madras Epigl. Report for 1918, and *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 327.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336.

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record.

- 5 യിൽ പുനീർട്ടിറയിൽക്കല്ലൊള്ള കണ്ടെത്തി ച നാൽ നിലം ൧൭൦ അ
തിന്നു കിഴക്കു ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്നു കിഴക്കുത വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ച നാൽ നി
ലം ൧൭൦ കൂട നി
- 6 ലം ൨൭൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴതിവച്ചു തന്ന ആണ്ടൊന്നിന്നു വരവെണ്ടും
പാട്ടനെൽ ൮൭൦ ഇ പണം ൨൧൧൧൧ നന്നം ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്ന
ന്നൂർ പട്ട-
- 7 കാരകെരെടെ ചൊപുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവെണ്ടും ഉപയനെൽ ൭൭൦൦ ഇ
ന്നെൽ ൭൭൦൦ യും പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴതികൊടുത്താൻ ചംകരൻ ക
ണ്ടെൻ തി-
- 8 അവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവട്ടപ്പാതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കന്നെൻ കന്നെൻ
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11*]

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Idavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rōhinī-nakshatra and tritīyā-tithi of the first fortnight, the *tavayāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruvelunnannūr wrote this *prāchchittayōla* (document relating to expiation).

The compensation which Śaṅkaran-Kanḍan of Idamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balamsey*) the servants of the god at Tiruvelunnannūr was 240 *rāsi-panam*, which together with 48 *rāsi-panam* for *aḍukkavadu* amounted to 288 *panam*.

For this amount Śaṅkaran-Kanḍan gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) in Punnirattiraikkal of Velunnannūr-dēsam in Paḍijnāyarru-Chiravūrkkal and one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) situated near Aṭṭarakandam to the east of the above;

in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *para* (of paddy seed); and from the annual rent of 8 *para* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *panam* to provide 7 *para* and 5 *iḍaṅgaḷi* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Sembukatti* (measure) of the god at Tiruvelunnannūr to Kunnan-Kunnan of Maṇṇūr, the *tavappoḍuvāl* of the same temple.

No. 21—A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.²

First side.

- 1 ചാണയ്യ മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൭നു ചെന്ന ചന്തിയാഴ്ചയും അത്തവും പൂവ
പക്കത്തു ഏഴാദേശിയും അന്ന അസ്സമിച്ചു ധനുരാഷി കൊണ്ടു ഇടമെ

1 Kunnan-Kunnan of Maṇṇūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *poḍuvāl* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immārgamē*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 2 നെ പൊറിക്കു സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ചൊമ്പിലായിത്തുരുത്തി
ക്കാട്ടു കിരുട്ടൻ നാരായണനും പുനക്കൽതുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരൻ
നാരായണൻ-
- 3 നും അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരൻ നാരായണനും ചി-
റക്കരത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു നാരായണൻ ചാകരനും മാടപ്പെള്ളിൽ ചാ-
കര-
- 4 ന് കിരുട്ടനും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പട്ടമി-
രുന്ന് സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുത്തതിന്നു ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ ചൊമ്പിലായി ഇന്നാ-
ർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൨൩൪൪ പുനക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക സാക്ഷിക്കാ-
ണത്തിന്നു കൊടുത്ത രാചി ൪൪ അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊ-
ടുത്ത
- 6 രാശിപണം ൪൪ ചിറക്കര ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൪൪ മാട
പ്പെള്ളിൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൧൩൨൪ രാവണ്ണ ജന-
ത്തിലെവരു
- 7 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പാറിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറികളും കൊടുത്ത ശേഷം ഇട-
മനെ ഇന്നാർ തൈവരടെ നടയിൽ വന്ന ദൈവന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കാണ-
ത്തിന്നു ൪൪ കണ്ട-
- 8 ത്തിന്നു ഏഴുതിയ കരണവും നടയിൽ വച്ചു സമുതായത്തിലെവരടെ
സാക്ഷിക്കാണത്തിന്നു പൊതുവാളുടെ കൈയിൽ കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം
൧൨൪൦ വാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ദൈ-

Second side.

- 9 വെന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും ദൈവന്റെ നടയിൽ വച്ചുകൊടുത്തിതു ഇടമനെ
ഇന്നാർ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പിന്നെയും പട്ട-
മിരുന്ന് ശ-
- 10 ൂ കൊട്ടി കുടിക്കാരിയം ചെയ്യമാറു എന്നു കൽപ്പിക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ജനത്തി-
ലെവര സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും സമുദായം ഉടയ കാവുപുറ-
ത്തു ഇന്നാരോടും
- 11 പിള്ളെച്ചൊടും പൊതുവാളൊടും ചൊതിച്ചു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും കൊടുത്തു
ശംകം കൊട്ടിതു മെൽപ്പടി തിയതി ദൈവന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിക്കു ഏഴുതിയ
കണക്കു തിരുവെ-

1 The word *pōrri* (a class of brahman) comes from *pōrru* = to praise. It has been used in this ordinary significance in *Acharakkavai*, v. 64—*ചിരപിള്ളർ പോർത്തി ജനപ്രശംസകർ*.

- 12 മുക്കുന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യോഗം തിരക്കഞ്ഞു¹ ഇങ്ങനെ ഏഴുതിയ സാക്ഷി-
ക്കറിയാവിതു തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടമിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-
- 13 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും ഏഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-
വെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കുന്നൻ ക-
ന്നൻ പൊതുവാൾ.
- 14 കുറുംവണ്ണം കൽപ്പിച്ചു താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു .
ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ.

No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (= A. D. 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruveḷunnannūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkuvar*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjudged by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *dēsam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ślai* records relating to his transactions outside the *dēsam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kuñju-Pāva-ti(?). Kuñju being a pettish surname common in Malabar.

Text.²

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കഞ്ചുപാവതിയെന്ന തുലുക്കൈകത്തു
പുക കട്ട മുക്കവെനെ തമുതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തടുത്താ-
- 2 റെ അവെൻ ഒളിച്ചുപായ ചെഷം അവെൻറ വസ്തുവക്കൊണ്ടു പൊന്നാ
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ചു തമുതായത്തിമെക്കു കൊടുത്തതിന്റെ ചെഷം അ
വെൻറ
- 3 വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ ഒരേശത്തിന്നു അകത്തു ഒള്ള വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു
മുറികെളും ഒരവെനു കൊടുത്തശേഷം അവെൻറ വീട്ടിയിന്നു കൊണ്ടു
പായ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Kēraḷolippatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruveḷunnannūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1938 & c.

- 4 നാം പാതീതത്തിനും മറ്റും പലവകയായിട്ടു ജേത എപ്പർപ്പെട്ടതിനും കൂടപ്പറഞ്ഞു നീർന്ന അതിന്റെ അത്തവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു ഭേദത്തിന്നു പുറത്തുള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓടൈ-
- 5 കുളം വൈപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടം കൊടുത്തിതു ചെന്നമൻ മാണ്ടു കന്നിത്തായെറു മെന്റനാ കുൽപ്പിച്ചുമെക്കു വെളുന്നെന്തർ സമുതായത്തിലെവക്കും ജെന്നത്തിലെവക്കും കൂടി നീ-
- 6 ഒട്ടുതി വിടുകെന്നു തിരുവിജയമായ നീട്ടു[11*]

Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kuñju-Pāvali; but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēśam* and other documents relating to loans (*kaḍavāyppumuri*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēśam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kanni month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Veḷunnannūr.

No. 23—A record of Kollam 240 ?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mīna 12, Wednesday. *Makayiram-nakshatra*, and *pañchami-tithi*; but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇu* in the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of:

- (i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made.
- (ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇu*,
- (iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose.
- (iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question,
- (v) certain regulations in regard to the land.

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record:

Tōraṇattaragu-vilayōla—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōraṇa* of lights had to be maintained in a temple; *tōraṇa* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service.

*Elakolē*¹—The meaning of *elā* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *koḷa* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Elayum-koḷayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*elakolayum*'.

Śuraṅgam is a mistake for *śuṅgam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

Taragu which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'.

Text.²

First side.

- 1 ചന്ദ്ര[ശ]മ മാണ്ടു മീനത്താരു മെ ചെന്ന പുത്തൊഴിയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാരിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ തിരുവെളു-
- 2 (വളു)ന്നന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമുവാക കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ തൊരണത്തരക വില്പയൊലക്കരണമാവിതു [1*] പടിഞ്ഞായിറുഞ്ചിറവൂർ ക്ഷേത്രം വെളുന്നെന്തർ തെച്ചത്തിന്നു തി-
- 3 രുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു തൊരണം വച്ചു കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരകം എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കുളിൽ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും മണിയെ-
- 4 ന് കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ പടിഞ്ഞായിറുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കുളിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ ദേശത്തിന്നു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടി-
- 5 ലെയപ്പെന്നു തൊരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും തൊരകം എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊടും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊ-

1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Keralolipatti*:

വാലം, തോലം, മണയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അക്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, ആനയും, വാളും, വിരട്ടും, വെള, വെള, വാളും, നിരമവെള, തെറ്റിപട്ടം, പടവീട്, പരക്കംകൂട്ട, മുനിൽത്തളി, and ചിരമ്പവളി.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. R.

3 Cancel the syllables വളു which have been repeated.

- 6 ടം കൂ[ട*] ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [1*] ഇത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു എളുക കിഴക്കു ആരെയിൽ വെള്ളകരക്കു പെടാത്തത തെക്കുവാലുവച്ചു കുവലക്കു പെടാത്തതു പാടിത്തൊയെറു കണ്ടായിക്കൊ-
- 7 ടു തൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാത്തത വടക്കു പൊരയ്ക്കൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാത്തതു ഇന്നാലു എളുകകത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട തൊരണത്തിന്നകത്തു ഒള്ള എഴുകൊഴെയും ചുരങ്കവും തരക്കും കുടിപതി ഒരു പുര-
- 8 വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്നു കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച അമിചങ്ങലം കുടിപതിയൊടു ആണ്ടുവരവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു ക-
- 9 ടിയരി ൫ നൂ നു ഇരട്ടിയാൽ നെല്ല ൧ ൭ ൨ ൽ ൫൦മെ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണി സംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷ്ണുവിളക്കിന്നും കൂടനാഴി. ൨ നൈയ്യം ൨ ൩ ൫ വിളക്കു തിരിയു-

Second side.

- 10 ൦ കൂട ആണ്ടുവരവും മെൽപ്പടി തെചത്തു കുടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കുടിപതിയൊടു പററിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കുടിപതിയൊടു വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച മെക്കു
- 11 ഇതിന്നു അറിയും താക്കി മഞ്ഞിപ്പെഴെ ഇന്നാരിന്നാരും പെരെയിൽ കൊവിന്നെൻ വിക്കിരമെന്നും ഇവർകെൾ അറിയ ഇത്തൊരണയൊല കൈ എഴു-
- 12 തിയ കണക്കു കുറന്നൊട്ടു രാജമൻ അയ്യപ്പൻ കൈ എഴുത്തു [1*] ഇമ്മയൊല്ലപ്പെട്ട തൊരണയൊല എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്ത കണ്ടൻ കണ്ടെന്നും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട പ്പെ[11*]

Translation.

On the 12th day expired of the month of Mīna of the (Kollam) year 240 corresponding to a Wednesday with Makayiram-nakshatra and pañchamī-tithi, the following deed relating to *īraṇa-vīla* was written up in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr and in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan:

1 Engraved below the line.

2 Compare:

അകുമാരൻ കൊണ്ടു

അഭിപിടി പെരടിപാററി കോഴവാങ്ങി ചുമേരേൽ

കുഴികളെ മഥനം ചെയ്തതമഃജ്ജിയിതന്നു

—*Umakāyaṇam*, XVIII, 17.

and ഏഴയും കോഴയുമകച്ചുക്കങ്ങളും

വാഴും നീക്കങ്ങളെ രാജഭാഗങ്ങളും

—*Paṭracharitam*.

3 Probably ചുംകവും.

Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōraṇa-taraṇu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇa*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēsam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr also had the document drawn up with Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan for the maintenance of the *tōraṇa* to Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēsam, (which was itself) in Paḍinnāṭṭu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōraṇa* are:

in the east, up to Vellakkara in Aṇṇayil,
in the south, up to the crossing of roads,
in the west, up to the garden in Kaṇḍayikkōḍu, and
in the north, up to Poraykkōḍu.

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in a year was $6\frac{1}{4}$ *iḍaṅgaḷi* of rice (*kuḍiyari*), which doubled will be 1 *para* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *iḍaṅgaḷi* of paddy: and with this $2\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḷi* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the Āvaṇi-saṅkrāṇṭr and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land.

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Maṇjippuḷa, Gōvindan-Vikkiraman of Pereyil; and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kuṇṇikkāḍu, who wrote this *tōraṇa*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernacular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication; *viz.*, Śrīvallabhangōḍai and Māmbaḷḷi records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.

The original record must have been engraved in Vatteluttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Mamballi plates of Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *pagarppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vatteluttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following:

(i) *na* has generally been confused with *te* to whose form it approximates, and this has given rise to the incorrect readings: தெவடெகொடனும் for தேவங் கொவனும் (l. 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுங் கரையும் (l. 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுங் (l. 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணியெழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணியெழுதும் (l. 25):

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (l. 53) ought to be read as படுங் (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballi plates of Kēraḷavarman); நடகாரம் (l. 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாள்வாள்ப் பின்றெவாள் (l. 13) must evidently be திருநாள்(நாள்)ப் பின்றெநாள்:

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pa* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீர தெவமார்த்தாண்ட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*; but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (ll. 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines; but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* = half a *nāḷi*:

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயச்சன் for உவச்சன் and பாதின்ற for உதின்ற (l. 10), அருள்வழி for ஆள்வழி (l. 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in l. 21 where நெல் கதாஅடு (1080 *para* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட ஆயறயும்.

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible.

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Mambalī record of king Vīra-Kēraḷavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*; and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

*Ṇaṇṇūru*¹ has been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *ṇaṇṇūru-vāḷunnaruliya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or Yuvarāja and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions': *Ṇaṇṇōkkūru* occurs in (l. 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Muḍukūru* in the Tirumelli plates.²

Rakshābhōgam (verb: *rakshichchu*) has been explained already,³ as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōl-patti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpurushas* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rājabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

*Pulari*⁴ is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *vaikarai*. According to *Tōlkāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḷigai* was divided into six portions (*śirupōḷudū*) of ten *nāḷigai* each, beginning from sunset viz., *mālai*, *yāmam*, *vaikarai*, *kālai*, *naṇṇakal* and *erpāḍu*. *Erpāḍu* (*el*=sun + *pāḍu*=setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paḍiṇṇāru* (*jñāyāru*=sun + *paḍu*=setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time, of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*ārukālapūjai*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*ushahpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Vellalūr inscription also.

Uchchi is midnoon when the sun is at its zenith; and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

Attāḷam-tiruvamudu is the supper-offering to god. *Attāḷam* is compounded of *al*=darkness and *tāḷam*=descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trans. Archl. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr. Gundert gives the meaning of *ṇaṇṇūru-vāḷchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 cf. புத்திழாநாடு முதலது வாரமுமவர், *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX., 290.

3 *Trans. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரியே காணில் உன்றின்பின் என் இனஞ்சிங்கத்தைப் போக்கினேன்—*Periyāḷvar-Tirumoli*, and தாதுடையே ஆவரிவறிதலுமேதென உருநுதலும்—*Unnunīli-sandēsam*.

at night time, as against *muttālam*, which though not similarly derivable means breakfast. *Attālapūjā* is god's worship conducted in temples at night after the evening ceremony of *dīpārādhana* and before *ardhajāma-pūjā*, which is also generally hurried through before 10 p. m. *Attālam* and *Muttālam* are the two meals which constitute the daily dietary of an ordinary Malayalee.

Māḍambi is another term peculiar to Kēraḷa. It is composed of two words *māḍa* + *nambi* and connotes 'lord of a manor, *māḍam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambi* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. *Māḍambimār* were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āṇḍukālcha*, *kettuteṅgu*, *rakshābhōgam* etc. *Māḍattinkīl* is the name of one of the five Kshatriya families of Kēraḷa and *Māṭabhūpati* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called *Māḍambimār* to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

Tirumēṇikāvalkku-nilkum-pillar (l. 24) is more correctly *tirumēṇikāvaṅku-nirkum-pillaigal*. *Tirumēṇikāval* is the office of the temple watchman whose duty is to mount guard in the temple premises at nights and who is therefore responsible for the safety of the temple utensils etc. and of the god's images (*tirumēṇi*): on account of this duty, the watchman is also designated by that expression. *Pillar* is the plural form of *Pillai*, whereas in Tamil it will be *pillaikal* or *pillaimār*. It was originally a title of distinction granted by the king on his henchmen as a mark of royal favour, but it is now the most common appellation of a Nayar in Travancore.

Kālam (l. 10) is the *taabhava* form of the Sanskrit word *kāhala* which means a trumpet (*tiruchchiṇṇam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples cf., वीणाभेरिसुदृक्काहलकलागीतञ्च नृत्यं तथा. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kākālam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

Vēṇāṭṭu-nīḷal-manichechamāy-varinṇa-ālvaḷi-koḍuttu (l. 13) needs explanation. *Manichecham* is in the first place a *tadbhava* of *manushyam*, and is often used to express 'a servant or a subordinate' especially of a king. *Nīḷal* which means 'shadow' is here the protecting shadow of a royal parasol and therefore of the king; (cf., കടക്കിഴ് ചെയ്യാക്കി = appointed by the king). *Vēṇāṭṭu-nīḷal-manichecham*¹ thus refers to a subordinate officer of the Vēṇāḍu ruler; and the meaning of the whole expression is 'handing over to the individual who comes in the capacity of an official of the Vēṇāḍu king'.

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

2 *Attālam* and *Muttālam* occur elsewhere in the sense of 'evening and morning offerings'.

3 മടക്കിനാമവിചയസാരം ഗന്യമാകം തിവാസം—*Unnūṭiśāndesam*.

4 കിഴക്കും പശ്ചിമവും and കിഴക്കഞ്ചേലാർ occur in the Tirumelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravi—*Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kalippu munrōrāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the *olai*, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following: In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared:—

‘சாந்திசெய்யுமவனை மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறு’ — Tirukkāṭṭānam record.²

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression ‘*pariparirādar-varu-aṟatala*’ and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus:

‘பட்டாசுக்கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகோவிலுக்கும் மொறெத்தம் (?) வரு ம்பொழ்தவிடே கூடி நின்னு பரிபிராசுர் வரு இறதல்’—

Pariparirādar may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *aṟatala* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyadu* and signifies ‘what ought not to be’. The sentence may therefore mean that ‘if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *ūrāḷmakkārār* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble’. The expression *ariyarudāde* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Moṟōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Venāḍu, viz.,

No.	Name.	Text-line
1.	Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-Tiruvāḍi	2, 34, 56.
2.	Vīra Adichchavarman-Tiruvāḍi	3.
3.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr	14.
4.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Umaiymamayāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi	16.
5.	Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr	18.
6.	Dēvadaraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kēraḷaṇ-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents, appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppārkkadal-Bhātāraka

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 65.
2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 173 *et. seq.*

at Kīlimāpūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāmaṇ-Kēraḷavarman. That the Māmbaḷli plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēraḷavarman's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīrakēraḷapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tiruvalla plates¹ and the Kollūr-maḍam plates² are such examples, while the Āṟṟūr plate³ of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, *viz.*, a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi was the *yuvārāja* or crown-prince (*iḷaṅgūru-vāḷunnaruliya*) at the time of that record, *i. e.*, in Kollam 343 (Mēsha 13, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāṇḍavarman was still the administrative head of the *iḷaṅgūru* according to the Tiruvāṭṭāru inscription, the date of the latter which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkāṭaka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-maḍam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tiruvāyambāḍi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371⁴, because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi¹. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādichchavarman-Tiruvaḍi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍavarman from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Vēṇāḍu (*vēṇāḍu-vāḷunnaruliṇṇa*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman was the *yuvārāja* in charge of the *iḷaṅgūru* dominions. His

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p p. 46 *et. seq.*

2. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154, 8.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48. Mr. T. K. Joseph, thinks with Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art.*, XXVI, p. 109) that *māṅgayātmākṣhamāyāh* works out to Kollam 359.

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri¹ inscription it is learnt that Vīra Ravivarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakēraḷa² (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *iḷaṅgūru* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Āḍityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēraḷaṇ-Āḍichchavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *para* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēdam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*irattaippēr*) of Kēraḷaṇ-Āḍityavarman, Kēraḷaṇ represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Āḍityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōḷapuram inscription³ we know that Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was the Vēṇāḍu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Āḍityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī*, *Vīra*, *Pillaiyār* or *Tiruvaḍi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only his *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the Suchindram inscriptions Kōḍai-Kēraḷavarman was on the Vēṇāḍu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vīra Kēraḷa, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhavi and Umaiyanmai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vīra-Rāṁavarman of Kīlappērūr, who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āṇa*) is used here in *Umaiyanmaiāya* and *Mādhaviāya* as a wrong substitute for *yin* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtamīputra and Vāsishṭīputra of the northern kings. Manikaṇṭhaṇ-Umaiyanmaiāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi may refer to Rāṁaṇ-Kēraḷavarman who was the successor of Manikaṇṭhaṇ-Rāṁavarman, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kaḍinaṅguḷam⁵ epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Dēvadaraṇ-Kēraḷavarman is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Manikaṇṭhaṇ-Rāṁavarman, namely, Manikaṇṭhaṇ-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi, the son of Rāṇi-Mādhavī, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record: but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōḍai-Āvaṇiāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr and Dēvadaraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāpūr. In the Māmbaḷli plates of Dēvadaraṇ-Kēraḷavarman, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253.

3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 69-70.

king is stated in full as Kīlappērūr Vīra Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇiyāṇa Piḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi¹, where the title *Āvaṇiyāṇa* has been considered to refer probably to Śravana, the star of nativity of the king and Kīlappērūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tiruppāppūr family also. If Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāṇa Piḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr is possibly identical with Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, as the common natal star 'Āvaṇi²' of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadarāṇ were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Māmbaḷli record of Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

First section.

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 343, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-tiruvaḍi was administering (as heir-apparent) the *iḷaṅgūru* dominions of Vēṇāḍu and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppāṅkkadal-Bhaṭṭāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *baḷi*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kīlīmāṇūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Adichechavarman Tiruvaḍi who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmans or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmasvam* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were:

1. [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇṇaṇ of Puḍuvāḷkkasthānam from Parayūr,
2. Śuvākarāṇ-Dāmōdarāṇ of Kūṟrambaḷli from Mūlikkaḷam,
3. [Śēndaṇ]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukāḍu from Ayirāṇikkaḷam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam from Iruṇṇāḷikkudal,
5. Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu from Peruvaṇam,
6. Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Piṇaṇṇāḍu,

1 T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 74.

2 It may be noted that *Āvaṇi* is the name of Simha month and of the star Sarvishṭhā, not Śravana.

மருவியகாகப்புள்ளுவசக்கனாள் பறவை புள்ளு

விரவு மாவணியவிட்டம்—

Chudamani, v. 77.

7. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṅjippulai, a *Mādambi* from Cheṅgannūr,
8. Dāmōdaraṇ-Kriṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam from Tiruvallavāḷ,
9. Vikkīrama-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilaṅjēri, a *Mādambi*, and
10. Śatti Vikkīramaṇ - Śatti of Kanugaṅjēri from Āraṇmuḷa.

After setting apart lands in Parappunādu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kālam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative; and from the *rakshābhōgam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *para* of paddy per year by the *para* holding 10 *nāḷi* to the *uvachechan* blowing on the *kālam* (pipe).

100 *para* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pūllel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *para* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *paḍaḡāram* lands of six *kālam* sowing capacity.

100 *para* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīraḍichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Meḍam and receipt obtained therefor.

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S. II-173*). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Tiruvalla Plates.</i>	<i>Kilimanur Record.</i>
Vāvukāḍu (Vēlakāḍu)	Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śendan	Śendan-Dēvan
Piṇaṇṇāḍu	Kumaraṇ-Śendan	Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumaraṇ
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	Kriṣṇaṇ-Dēvan	Dāmōdiraṇ-Kriṣṇaṇ
Makilaṅjēri	Dēvan-Vikkīramaṇ	Vikkīramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

Second section.

A second document states that the provision of 3 *para* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:

1. from the lands and sites in Kārittumṇai, the fields called Idamaṇ and Āyiramaṇ in Nāvāikkalam and half of Neḍumpuram-paraṃbu, which were given to Maṇikaṇṭham-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr as freehold (*kārāḷma*), 360 *para* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *para* of good paddy per day;
2. the *bhaṇḍāra* paid 240 *achchu* on certain lands in Kaḍamba-nāḍu and Perumaṇṇūr belonging to Maṇikaṇṭham-Umaiymmaiyyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr and from these lands 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured;
3. for another amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Palai-kkuḷam, Neḍumaṇ in Kottārakarai, Aruvāchchēri in Kāttāmattala and Periya-mummi in Pallai-kkal belonging to Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappērūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured; and
4. for a third equal amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Karicheḥēy and Muṭṭakkāḍu belonging to Dēva-daraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured.

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *para* of paddy, it was ordered that a daily dole of 3 *para* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāḷi* of rice by the *irattamaḍai* (measure) of the temple; and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed:

<i>Items of expenditure.</i>	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>	
the <i>mēlsānti</i> (worshipping priest)	4	1	
one <i>kīḷsānti</i> (his assistant)	3	1	
another <i>kīḷsānti</i> (do)	3		
<i>tirukkūḍa</i> (umbrella-bearer;)	2		
<i>śrībali</i> and <i>vaiśvadeva</i> offerings	3	1	
morning (<i>pūlari</i>) offerings	5		
midday (<i>uchchi</i>) offerings	21	1	} 31 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i>
night (<i>attālam</i>) offerings	5		
Total 48 <i>nāḷi.</i>			

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale:

	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	5	
the flower supplier (<i>tiruppaḷittāyam</i>)	4	
the watchmen (<i>tirumānikāraḷ</i>)	3	
the woman-servant (<i>tēraḍichchi</i>) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers (<i>wachchar</i>) who provided the seven items of service during <i>śrībali</i> , at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i> each	17	1
Total	31	1

Third section.

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*aḍiyara* or *pādakāṇṇikka*), from

	<i>achchu.</i>
the <i>mēlsānti-nambi</i>	2
the <i>kīlsānti</i>	1
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	1
the <i>pallitāyam</i>	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrālars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use.

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrāḷma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself.

The ten members (*ūrālars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turus for a term of one year:

	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Line.</i>
First year	1. Śuvākaṇ-Ḍamōḍaran of Kuṇṇampalli	4, 31
	2. Nārāyaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Piṇaṇṇāḍu	5, 31
Second year	1. Ḍeva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam	5, 32
	2. Ḍevaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu	5, 32
Third year	1. [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇṇaṇ of Puduvaḷkkasthānam	4, 32
	2. [Śeṇḍan]-Ḍevaṇ of Vāvukāḍu	5, 32
Fourth year	1. Ḍamōdiraṇ-Kṛṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6, 32
	2. Śatti-Vikkiraman of Kamukaṇjēri	7, 33
Fifth year	1. Vikkiramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilaṇjēri	6, 33
	2. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṇjippulai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple management on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them.

Fifth section.

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *para* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇa of Śeṅgalunīr-ṣaṅgalam, viz.,

Kīlkuṇḍārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *para* of seed and 3 *para* of land in Mēkkāṇattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

Sixth section.

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple:—

Name of place.	Capacity		Remarks.
	<i>para.</i>	<i>idaṇ.</i>	
Enṇilam	11		
Toṭṭikkōḍu	5		
Maṇṇadi	7		
Tadaṇṇōḍu	12		
Vetṭikkōḍu	4		
Vetṭiyattukaṇḍam	1	2½	
Perumbaravūr	1		
Śeṅgūru	10		
Seṟumāvēli	5		
Muṇḍakkal	3		
Seṟukaḍaman	1		
Kīrttiṁaṅgalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitṛā-nandapuram plate.
Aṇṇal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *para* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarkanmis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlppādi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tiruppārkaḍal-bhaṭṭāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkshā* as in the word *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmal*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75½ *para*, the details relating to the balance of 31½ *para* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *ōlai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhaṇḍāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

Seventh section.

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi and given as *kīlśānti-virutti*:

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Ānāḍu-jīvitam-Mīliyūr	20	Ānāḍu is a pakudi in Neḍu-maṅḡaḍ taluk.
Vembāykurram-jīvitam-Kaṇḍamaṅḡalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk.
Nerpāḍu-jīvitam-Kīlmaṇa	10	
Land of Kaṇḍaṇ-Ravi of Melachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Ānāḍu-Śeruvaḷa	10	
Total	70	

Eighth section.

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chiraiyūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēraḷan-Ādicchavarman of Mullakkal, namely,

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>
Aḍimayālakkōḍu	15
Mullakkal	50
Mēṭṭukkūḷi	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *para* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikārar*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Manṭōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēlśānti-virutti*, 100 *para* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

Ninth section.

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kāḍavakkuttumala	
Ḥambela	This may be Ḥamba in Chirayinkil Taluk.
Dēvaṇ-Ravi of Tiladamaṅgalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyur epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so.

The following additional proper names occur in the record:

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Āraṇṇuḷa	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvalla taluk.
Āṅṅuvāchchēri	18	is in Kulakkada-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Ayirāṇikuḷam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṅgaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Iruṇṇādikkuḍal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Iruṇṇalattūr		may be Irunnalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kaḍambanāḍu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumangad taluk.
Kamugaṇjēri	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kaḍamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchayil in the Āvaṇaṇjēri pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāṭṭamattala	18	
Kiḷappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kiḷimāpūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kīrādīchchuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Koṭṭarakkarai	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line.
Kulaṅgāḍu	5	
Kunnalattūr	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kūṟrambaḷli	4	
Makalaṅjēri	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.
Melkāṇattūr	35	
Miliyūr	52, 56	
Mūḷikkāḷam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk.
Mullakkal	58	
Munḍakkal		may be Mudākkal
Muttakkāḍu	20	may be a mistake for Muttakāḍam or Muttakkāḍagam near Kilimānuur.
Nagarūr	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkāḷam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk: (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishṇava <i>divyadēśam</i> is in South Malabar).
Neduman	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Nedumpiram	15	is in Chetṭivilākam-pakudi of the Tri-var drum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station.
Paḷaikkūḷam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Pa-laiyakunṅam, it is near Kilimanur.
Paḷlikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Pipaṇṇāḍu	5	
Parappunāḍu	7	may be a mistake for Parappaṅgōḍ in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappa-nāḍu is in Malabar.
Perumappūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Peruvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Pullel	11	now called Pallayil in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Seṅgalunīrmaṅgalam	34	occurs in the Mamballi plate.
Tiladamaṅgalam	64	occurs in Kaviyūr inscription and in the Tiruvalla plates.
Tiruppāppūr	64	is a village 10 miles north of Tri-vandrum.
Tiruvallavāḷ	6	is the headquarters of Tiruvalla taluk.
Vaṇḷipulā	6	is in the Kottarakarai taluk.
Vārapakkōṭṭam	5	
Vāvukāḍu	5	may be a mistake for Vēlakāḍu of the Tiruvalla plates.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.

Text.

First plate: second side.

- 1 கொல்லம் நாசயிந மாண்டெ² மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற மெடநாயறு ப-
ந்திரண்டு சென்ற வியாழமாண்ட உத்திரவும் பக்கம்³ திரபொதசியும் இ-
ந்நாளால் வெணாட்டு இளங்குறு வாழும்நருளிய
- 2 ஸ்ரீவீரதேவ⁴ மார்த்தாண்டவர்மம் திருவடி கீழ்⁵ மேசிலவினு திட்டம் பண்-
ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பால்சுக்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு⁶ அமச்சிலவும் நிச்ச-
னனிக்கும்⁷ பிரம்மவீத்தினும் கற்பிச்ச பரி-
- 3 சாவிது [1*] ஐடி தருக்கொவிக்கல் பிரம்மவீத்தினு வெணாடு வாழும்நருளி-
ன்ற ஸ்ரீவீர ஆதிச்சவர்மம் திருவடி கற்பிச்ச கொடுத்தருளிய கினிமா-
னார் பூமியுங் காடும் கரயும் கரபுரயிடத்திடை மானி-
- 4 டெம்⁸ ஐடி முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊராழ்மங்கு கொண்டபெர் வரபூர்க்கு⁹

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Read மாண்டை.

3 The *pakska* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright'; *pakska* also means simply the *tiki*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய⁰.

5 Read perhaps நடசிலவினு and நடச்சிலவும்.

6 Read நிச்சபலிக்கும் or நிச்சண்டைக்கும்.

7 This may be a mistake for மானியம்.

8 Read பறபூர்.

¹ புதுவாச்சதான ந்தங்குந்தனும் மூழிக்களத்தினு கூற்றம்பள்ளிச் சு-
பாகரத் தாமோதரனும் அயிராணிகளத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

- 5 ² திராதந் தெவனும் யிருங்காடிக்குடல்க்கு வாரணைகொட்டத்து தெவநா-
ராயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் ³ குலாங்காட்டு தெவடெ⁴ கொடனும்⁵
செங்கந் தூர்க்கு பெண்காடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

Second plate: first side.

- 6 ⁶ ஷெ யாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வஞ்சிப்புழெய் ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் கிருவல்லா-
வாழ்க்கு விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து தாமோதரன் கிருட்டனும் ஷெ யார் மாட-
ம்பிகளில் மகிழ்ச்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும்
- 7 ஆறம்முனக்கு கழகஞ்செரிக் கண்டு ⁷ விக்கிரமஞ்சத்தியும் ⁸ கூடய பெர் ப-
த்தினும் பெர் ஒந்தினு நிலம் அறுகலமும் இதினடுத்த பரப்புநாட்டின்
செம்மெ⁸ ஒள்ள காடும் கரயுடெ⁹ கரபுரயிடமும்
- 8 பெர் ஒந்தினு ஆணை ஒன்றும் பெண்ணை ஒன்றும் ஆகயில் ¹⁰ அறுபதிங்கல-
மும் ஆள் ¹¹ ஒருபதம் நீக்கி ஒள்ள நிலம் எப்பொப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-
ரயுடெ¹² கரபுரயிடவும் ஆறும் கூட
- 9 கீழப்பெளர் நாடெ வழியிடெ முத்து¹³ ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஒ-
ண்டாயிருந்நருளும் கொயிம்மாரு காராழ்மம்பாக அதிகரிச்சுகொண்டு
சுமுக்கால்வட்டத்தின்னு மெலி சக்ஷாபொக-
- 10 மாக்கி ¹⁴ ராடிச்சமர்ந்து மாதெவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு காளம் ¹⁵ பாதின்ற ¹⁶ வபச்-
சன்னு ஆண்டு வாயும் கொடுப்பான் ஸம்மகிச்ச நெல் பதினாழிப்பறயால்
தூறுபறயு(ம்)ங் கொடுத்து¹⁷ இத்தொம்மும்

- 1 This occurs again in line 32 as 'புதுவாக்கதானந்தகுந்தனும்; but the correct word seems to be புதுவாக்கத்தானம். அனந்தங் குந்தனும். புதுவாக்கதானம் may be புதுவாழ்க்கைதானம்.
- 2 The correct word for which திராதந் is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed; it may be செந்தன் and வாவுகாடு may be வேழகாடு.
- 3 This name occurs in line 32 as குலாங்காட்டு, which seems to be correct.
- 4 Read தெவந்; டெ in தெவடெ is evidently a misreading for ந் and has similarly been misread in several other places.
- 5 கொடனும் may more correctly be கொவனும்.
- 6 This is probably செரிச் சத்திவிக்கிரமஞ் சத்தியும், compare line 33.
- 7 Read கூடய.
- 8 It occurs also as செம்மெ in l. 30 of the Mamballi plates of Vīra Kēraḷavarman.
- 9 Read கரையும், vide note 6 above.
- 10 Read ஆகயிற் அறுபதி.
- 11 Probably இருபதம்.
- 12 Read கரையும்.
- 13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கடைவழியிடெ (= the temple threshold) யமத்தூ or நாடுவாழியிடெ (= officer) யமத்து ரகடவழியிடெ (= country-custom).
- 14 Read ரட்சிச்சிருந்து.
- 15 Read ஊதின்ற.
- 16 Read உவச்சன்னு.
- 17 Read கொடுத்து.

Second plate: second side.

- 11 அதிகரிச்சு கொள்கிதாக கற்பிச்சு [1*] கிளிமானூர் பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட தின்ம்[2*]மலும் அயிரூர் தெவர்க்கும் புல்லெ[3*]த் தெவர்க்கும் ஆ- ண்டுவரயுக் கொடுக்கவேண்டு(ம்)ந் நெல் நூறுபறயும் இந்நிலம்¹ நடகாரம்
- 12 கொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற பெர்²வந்தும் அறுகலம் நிலத்தினு நாற்ப்பதின் பறெ³செதுநெல் கொடுத்து வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [1*] கிற்றடிச்சு வரத்தின்னு கொடுக்கும் நெல் நூறுபறயும் ஆண்டுவரயும் மெடஞா-
- 13 யறு⁴ திர்நநால்கடல் பட்டாரகர் திரு[வா]ள்⁵[வா]ள்ப் பின்றெ[வா]ள் வெணாட்டு நிழல் மணிச்சமாய் வரின்ற⁶ அருள்வழி கொடுத்து குறியும் கொண்டு வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சி⁷ட மெல்லாம்⁸ செயயீ ஒலெ மெலெ-
- 14 முதி ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [11*] ஷே முக்கால்வட்டத்து⁹ நிச்சலவுக்கு வெண்டுப நெல் மூந்நரப் பறக்கும்¹⁰ கீழப்பெருர் மணிகண்டம் மாதவி- யாய பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு காராழம்ம கொடுத்த காரித்தும¹¹-
- 15 ப் பூமியும் புரயிடமும் மற்றிந் நாவாயிக்களத்தில் யிடெமண்ணும் ஆயிரப- ண்ணு¹² மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் நெடும்¹³ ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா- தியும் கூடெ நித்தஞ்¹⁴ செவத்துவ நெல் ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக¹⁵

Third plate: first side.

- 16 ஓராண்டால் கொடுப்பான் கற்பிச்சு உநாகுயி¹⁶ம் [1*] ஷே மணிக ண்ட னுமய்யுமம்மெ¹⁷ ஆய பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள கீழப்பெருர் உடய கடம்பனாடும் பெருமண்ணாரும்
- 17 மற்று மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடு- த்த அச்சு யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பதின்னும்¹⁸ செயந்துமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பது பறயும் [1*] ஷே கீழப்பெருர் கொடுத்த.

- 1 Read படகாரம்.
2 Probably பத்தும்.
3 Read செய்துகெல் (= good paddy).
4 Read திருப்பாற்கடல் as in other lines.
5 Read திருநாள் நாள் பின்றெ நாள்.
6 Read ஆள்வழிகொடுத்து.
7 This is expressed by a contraction.
8 There is some mistake here, it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவிதமெல்லாம் செயகட ஒல்.
9 This may be நிச்சல் நடச்சிலவுக்கு as in L. 15 of the Mamballi plate, or நிச்சல் நிலவுக்கு.
10 This ought to be முந்துப்பறக்கும் as in L. 21 below.
11 There is a mistake here.
12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்.
13 There is some mistake here; probably it is கெடும்புறம்.
14 Read நித்தஞ் செவத்துவ.
15 பற is expressed by the symbol ெ.
16 Read ஒருபறெச் செய்தாக.
17 Read மணிகண்ட னுமயம்மயாய; கீழப்பெருர் உடய occurring after it, has perhaps to be taken be- fore மணிகண்ட.
18 Read ெ ஹத்துமாறு.

- 18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள பழைக்குளமுடெ¹ கொட்டகார-
க்கரை நெடுமண்ணும காட்டாமத்தல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிக்கல்
பெரிய ²மும்மிக்கும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டகிம்மெலும்
- 19 பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடுத்த அச்சு உரசலு னும் ³செதுமாறு க-
ற்பிச்ச நெல் யிருதாற்றிநால்பது பறயும் [*1] திறப்பாப்பூர் தெவதா-
ன் ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்குள்ள
- 20 கரிச்செவும் நாலுபறெத்தலுவும்⁴ முட்டக்கா⁵ நிம்⁵ இவயூர்குடெ எப்பெர்ப்ப-
ட்டகிம்மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் திந்தும் கொடுத்த அச்சு ⁶ஒருதாற்றிநா-
ல்பதின்னும் கொடுக்குமாறு

Third plate: second side.

- 21 கற்பிச்ச நெல் யிருதாற்றிநால்பது பறயும்[*1] கூடெ நெல் ⁷கண்ட அடுள
யும் கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றின்னு நெல் முப்பறபால் அரி தெவர் இரட்ட-
மடபால் நால்பத்தெண்ணாழி ஆவதம் மெற்ச்சாந்திக்கு அரி நாளுழி
உரியும்.
- 22 கிழச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்னு அரி முந்நாழி ⁸அரியும் கிழச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்னு அரி-
முந்நாழியும் கர்க்குடக்கு⁹ அரி யிருநாழியும் முச்செடெ¹⁰ ஸீவெலிக்கு
X ¹¹வைச்சியதெயத்தின்னும் அரி முந்நாழி ¹²அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமர்தினு
- 23 அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் உச்சக்கெ திருஅமர்தின்னு அரி யிருபத்தொருநாழி ¹³அ-
ரியும் இரா அத்தாளத் திருஅமர்கன்னு அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் கூடெ அரி-
நால்பத்தெண்ணாழியும் நெராக இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவும் ¹⁴சிலத்தி வருவி-
தாகவும் [*]
- 24 இதில் திருஅமர்து சிலவின்ற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி ¹⁵அரியும் கொண்
வாரியது அஞ்ஞாழி அரி சொறும் ¹⁶திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தின்னு ¹⁷நாலா-
ழி அரி சொறும் திருமெனிகாவல்க்கு நில்ல்கும் பிள்ளெற்கு முந்நாழி
அரிச் சொறும் திரு-
- 25 அமர்தின்னு நெல் குத்துவினும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பிதும்¹⁸ செயிவின்றெ
தெவடிச்சிகள்க்கு யிருந்நாழி அரிச் சொறும் திருவெலிக்கு ¹⁹பணியெ-
ழுதும் கொட்டின்றெ ²⁰வயச்சகள் பெர் [௭]ழின்னும்

1 Read குளமுத்.

2 There is some misreading here.

3 Read செதுமாறு.

4 The correct name cannot be guessed.

5 Read இவையுக் or it may be குவையுக்குட as in p. 51 of T. A. S. Vol. III.

6 Read இருதாற்றி.

7 Read த.அ.மெ.

8 Read உரியும், உ having been misread as அ.

9 திருக்குடைக்கு.

10 Read கிச்சல் (?) ஸீபெலிக்கும்.

11 Read வைச்சுவதெயத்தின்னும் (Skt. வெஸ்டுதெவ).

12 Read செதுத்தி.

13 Read திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு

14 Read நாளுழி.

15 Cancel ம்.

16 Read திருப்பலிக்கு பணியெழுத்(ம்).

17 Read உவச்சகள்.

Fourth plate: first side.

- 26 பெரொன்றின்னு அரி யிருநாழி அரி¹ செந்ததாக பெர் எழின்னும் பதினெழு
நாழி² அரி ச்சொறும் கொடுத்து நெராவருவிது [II*] பெப்பு³ கழிப்பு-
ழுன்[பொ]ராண்டில் மெச்சாங்கி நம்பித்தெ
- 27 கொள்ளும் அச்சு இரண்டும் கிழ்(ர்)ச்சாந்தியிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன் னு-
ம் வாரியனிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன் னும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ⁴ கொ-
ள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன் னும் கூடெ அச்சு
- 28 அஞ்சும முன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடுவழியிடெ⁴ புவாண்டாடி கூடி சிரிகாரியம்
செயின்னெறெ கொயிம்மாரும் ஊராளும் கூடி⁵ தங்கநெஞ்ஞ வக கூவி-
யுடெ⁶ கொள்ளாதெ
- 29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்சு பட்டாரக்கரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாத் திரத்தின்-
னும் அழியின் னும் கொள்விதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [II*] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்-
டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாயும் கல்பிச்சிது [II*]
- 30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகில் ஊராழ்மமயெ விட்டு பொவிதாகவும் [II*] பட்டா-
ர[கர்க்*] கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொவிக்கும்⁷ மொறெத்தம் வ-
ரும்பொழி தவிடெ கூடி நின்று

Fourth plate: second side.

- 31 *பரிபிராதர் வரு அறதல [II*] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும் ஊராளரு பெர் கு-
ற்றம்பள்ளிச் சுவாகரன் தாமொதிரனும் பிணங்காட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ-
குமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டு வாரணக்கொட்டத்து
- 32 தேவநாராயணனும் குளங்காட்டு தேவடெ⁸ கொடனும் முன்றாமாண்டு பு-
துவாக்க லானம்¹⁰ ந்தகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு¹¹ திராதன் தேவனும்
நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிவிங்கலத்து தாமொதிரன் கருட்டனும்
- 33 கழுக்குச்செரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராய-
ணனும் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெ ருத்திரன் சங்கா¹² னும் இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவு சிலத்-
தி இவர் ஒருத்தரில் முதத்தபுத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி- ✓
- 34 வருவிதம்¹² [II*] ஸ்ரீவிதெவ¹³ மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி நகரூரில்
செங்ககழு¹⁴ வீரமங்கலத்து சமாரநாராயணனிட்டெ¹⁵ விலயில் கொண்-
ட கிழக்காண்டாரவி¹⁶ பதின்புற வித்துபாடும் ஸெயில் முந்நாறு பற

1 Read உரிச்சொறும் and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயர்ப்பு கழிப்பு or ஒப்புக்கழிப்பு முன்றெ ஆண்டில்.

3 Read பள்ளித்தாமத்திடெ.

4 Probably நடுவழியிடெ or நடுவாழியிடெ? as in l. 9 above.

5 This may perhaps be தங்கவந்தங்கன் or தங்கனக்கொள்ள as in l. 43 of the Mamballi plates.

6 Read கூவிவ்.

7 It is not possible to make this out; it may be முறைகுற்றம்.

8 This may probably be பரியரியாதெ வரு அருது.

9 Read செவல் கொவனம்.

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 ante.

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 ante.

12 Read வருவிது or வருவதாகவும்.

13 Read ஸ்ரீவி உதயமார்த்.

14 Read செங்கழுரீம்மல்.

15 Cancel ட்.

16 Probably கிழக்குண்டாரோடி.

- 35 நெல்லில் ¹கூறிக்கொடுத்த கரிக்கின்ற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பற வித்து
பாடும் கூடே நிலம் பதிமுப்பற வித்துபாடும் அநின்னு ²நடும் காடும்

[இது—க முதல் ச வரை செம்பு பட்டயம் சம் கண்டு எழுதியது]³

[Fifth plate missing.]

Sixth plate: first side.

[இ-மது பட்டயம் வந்திட்டில்லா -க மது-]

- 46 நிலம் இடங்நாழியால் எழுந்நாழி வித்துபாடும் ⁴எண்ணிலம் பதினொருபற
வித்துபாடும் தொட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும் மண்ணடி
நிலம்
- 47 எழுபற இடங்நாழியால் அஞ்ஞாழி வித்துபாடும் தடாங்கொடு நிலம் பந்திரு
பற வித்துபாடும் வெட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் நாலப்பற வித்துபாடும்
வெட்டியத்துகண்டம் ஒருபற இடங்நாழியால் நிருநாழி
- 48 உரி வித்துபாடும் பெரும்பறயூர்⁵ நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் செங்குறு நி-
லம் பதின்பற வித்துபாடும் செறுமாவெலினிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபா-
டும் முண்டக்க நிலம் முப்பற வித்து பாடும் செறுகடமண்⁶
- 49 நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் கிர்த்திமங்கலம் பதிம்பற வித்துபாட்டிம் மெல்
பாட்டெ⁷ கொள்ளும் நெல் யிருபத்தொருபறயும் ⁸அஞ்சனிகொள்ள
பூமியதினு அயிம்பற வித்துபாடு ஆக நிலம்
- 50 பதினாழி பறயால் ஒருநாற்றெழுபற வித்துபாடும் இவயு¹⁰ எல்லாவற்றினும்
ஒள்ள காடும் கரயும் கரப்புரயிடவும் ஆளும் மிக் கு ருநலத்தூர் ¹¹கண்ட-
னாழ்த்திரனுடெ அதிகாரரு கொண்டய

1 Probably கூறிக்கொடுத்த[தி]²கரிக்கின்ற.

2 Read படும்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the cadjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெரும்பறயூர்.

7 செறுகெடுமண் occurs in L. 11 of the Mamballi plate of Virakūḷavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in L. 57.

8 Read பாட்டல்.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ்சனாவரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்

11 Read கண்ட னாழ்த்திரனுடெ

Sixth plate: second side.

- 51 தொம்ம எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழ்ப்பெரூர் திருப்பாற்க்கடல்பட்டார-
கர்க்கு¹ தச்சிந்தாமாறு தெவரு கர்ம்மிதளோடு கூடா² விட்டுக் கொடுந்-
து³ கீழிலயம்⁴ பெர் மெல்ப்பாதிபும விட்டி⁵
- 52 நிக்கி ஒள்ளது கொண்டு தச்ச பண்ணுமாதும் கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒலயும் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-
பண்டாரத்திலிட்டது [||*] முந்தாற்றுநாலப்பத்தொன்றாமாண்டே சிங்-
வஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற நாள் ஆராடு சிவித்ததில்⁶ வக மிளியூர்⁷.
- 53 ப் பூமி யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடும் இதின்னு⁸ நடுடெ காடும் கரையும் கரப்பு-
ரயிடமுள் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய்⁹ கூன்றஞ் சிவித்ததில் கண்ட-
மங்கலத்தினெக்கொள்ள தொம்முடெ காரியத்திம் மெடெ¹⁰ ஆண்டு-
- 54 வரெ கொள்ளும் நெல் பதிற்பறயும் நெற்பாடு சிவித்ததில் கிள்மனைக்கு ஒ-
ள்ள தொம்மின்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதிற்பறயும் மெல்ப்படியில்
மெல்ச்செரி கண்டன் இரவிக் கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல்
- 55 கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதிற்பறயும் மெலூர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல் மெ-
ல்ப்படியில் கொள்ளும் நெல் பதிற்பறயும் ஆண்டு செதுவலளகக்காத¹¹-
ரன் தொம்மின்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதிற்பறயும்

Seventh plate: first side.

- 56 ஆக ஆண்டுவரயும் பதினாழிப்பறயால் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் ஆயம்பதுபறெ-
ச்¹² செந்தும் வரு¹³ மிளியூர் நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும் கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ¹⁴ மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி-
- 57 க் கமெஞ்ச ஆதிகாரர் விலயில் கொண்டு கிடந்தம்மார்க்கமெ கீழ்ப்பெரூர் தி-
ருப்பாற்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு சாந்திசெய்யும்¹⁵ இரவியர் கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு¹⁶
நிரத்தியாக ஆசந்திரவர் கற்பிச்சிது [||*] முந்தாற்றுநாலா-

1 Probably செலவினமாத as in L. 72 of the Mamballi plates of Virākēlavāman; but it is not certain. It may also be tuckelu (skt. *Dīkṣa*?) as in *Tachchudaiya-kāmmaḍi*.

2 Read கூடி.

3 Read கொடுத்து.

4 This is not clear; it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the T. A. S., Vol. IV.

5 Read விட்டுக்கி.

6 Read சிவித்ததில்.

7 This occurs as வருமிளியூர் in line 56 below.

8 Read படுங்.

9 Read வெம்பாய்க்குன்றஞ்.

10 Read மெல் but the expression occurs in other places as தொம்மின்மெல்.

11 Probably செதுவலைக் கொள்ள.

12 ஆயம்பதுபறெச் செய்தும்.

13 This occurs as வகமிளியூர் in L. 52 above; but here it may be கெழமிளியூர்.

14 Read வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்ட⁰.

15 Read இரு யியர் or இருவர்

16 Read விருத்தியாக.

- 58 மாண்டெ¹ மெட்டுராயறு ஒன்று சென்ற-நாள்-முல்லக்கல் கெருளன்² ஆகிச்-
சுவர்ம்மன் கீழ் கிள சிரெயூர்க்கவில் ஒற்றிகொண் டதிகரிக்கின்ற நிலம்³
³ அடிமயாலகொடு ந்தின்⁴ அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும்⁵ மெலக்களில்
- 59 மூந்நனந்நப்பெருர் நிலம் அயிம்பறு பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஷெயூர்⁷ மெடுடு
குனி நிலம் யிருபறு பற வித்துபாடும் ஆகயில்⁸ எண்பத்தன்பறெ வித்-
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரயும் அதிகார்க்கு கொடுக்குமாறு
- 60 கற்பிச்ச நெல் பதி[று]ழி பறயால் நூறுபறெ⁹ செவதும் ஆண்டு வரயும்
தி[ரு*]ப்பார்க்குடல்ப் பட்டாரகார்க்கு மெச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவார்க்கு மெ-
ல்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு முன்னம் சிரெயூர்க்கனு

Seventh plate: second side.

- 61 மாருதூர் மண்டொடி மெடு¹⁰ கல்பிச்ச நெல்லினு¹¹ புகரம்நிரத்தி வக-
யிட்டு கொடுத்து¹² ஆண்டுவரயும் நெல் நூறுபறயும் அளவு கொடுத்து
தெவரு கற்றமிகள் எழுத்தினால் குறியும் கொண்டு-
- 62 வருமாறும் இசிலவு ஒன்றுடெ¹³ முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ
முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் தெண்டவும் மூன்று முட்டுகில்¹⁴ கெருளன்²
ஆகிச்ச-
- 63 வரயமக்கொள்ள தொம்மு எண்பத்தயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரயும்
நெல் நூறுபறயும் கொடுக்கவதும்¹⁵ மெச்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு அளவு
கொள்ளுமாறும் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறும் கற்பிச்ச ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில்
- 64 ஸ்ரீயும் எழுதி யிட்டது [11:] ந¹⁶ டெ ம்துனஞாயறு காடவக்-
குட்டுமலக்கு மெலத்திலதமங்மலத்து தெவன் இரங்கு இளம்பெல
கொயிம்மாரொடு வளக்கு¹⁷ நாவடு கயின்று
- 65 மொள்ள தொம்மு எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும்¹⁸

- 1 Read மாண்டை as in other places.
- 2 Read கேரளன்.
- 3 The correct name is not known.
- 4 Read பதின் அயிம்பறெ which gives the total 85 paya in the next line.
- 5 Read முல்லக்கவில் as in line 58.
- 6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.
- 7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி or மெடுக்குழி?
- 8 Read ஆகயில் எண்ப⁸.
- 9 காறுபறெச் செய்தும்.
- 10 Read மாருதூர் மண்டொடிமெல்.
- 11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'.
- 12 Read கொடுத்து.
- 13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடவை. It occurs also as துடை in the Vellani inscription (Vol. III, p. 36).
- 14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று; the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed.
- 15 Read perhaps கொடுக்கவதும்.
- 16 The year has been left out.
- 17 This is unintelligible; நாவடு may be a misreading for காடுங். கயின்றெ occurs in the Tiruvalla plates as a land-name.
- 18 The catjan copy stops here.

No. 25—Tiruvīdangodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvīdangodu and relates to the construction of a shed at Pudur for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *puraiyidam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamil language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஹரி நன்றாக [1*]
- 2 சங்குத்தில னியாழ-
- 3 ம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
- 4 அா[சு]யச ஹு மார்ச-
- 5 ழி மீம் உயச சென்ற
- 6 புதனாச்சையும்
- 7 மககிரமும் பூவ-
- 8 பக்கிஷத்து திறையே-
- 9 ரதெசியும் சபதி-
- 10 தமாறித்தியோக-
- 11 மும் இந்நாளால்
- 12 புதுஆர் தெசத்து
- 13 சணக்கு தெவனிர-
- 14 வியும் பள்ளிச்.
- 15 சல் ஈச்சுவான்
- 16 ஈச்சுவரனும் பெ-
- 17 ர[ல்லா]பிளையா-
- 18 ன் பிள்ளையானும்
- 19 ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
- 20 ஆர் அம்பலம் கே-
- 21 ட்டி முகிக்கையில் டெ-
- 22 சமும் குறைப்பணி-
- 23 யும் முகிச்சு தானப்டி-
- 24 தமாணமாக விட்டுருடுத்த
- 25 நிலம்[1*] புதுஆர் தெ-
- 26 சத்து ஷெ குளத்தின்
- 27 கீழ் கீருண்டு உ விளை-
- 28 யு முருக்கறை தடி க உ
- 29 டு ப—யும் ஷெ கண்ட-
- 30 ச்சை குளத்தின்
- 31 [கீழ்] பிள்ளையான்
- 32 பிள்ளையான ஓற-
- 33 [த்த]ன் நா[ரா]யணன்

Second face.

[One line damaged].

- 34 கொண்ட
35 நடுவில் நிலம்
36 ஈ ப-க்கு எல்லை
37 ஆனது [1*] உப்பு-
38 த்தறைக்கும் செ
39 னம்ப[1*]றைக்கும்
40 நடுவில் நிலம்
41 ஈபறைக்கும் [1*] மு
42 னையடிக்கும்
43 நாலல்லெ[ல்*]ை-
44 க உழப்பட்ட
45 நடுவில் நில-
46 ம் ஈ ப-யும் மு
47 ருக்கறை-தடி.
48 க நீ- நால்-
49 எல்கை உ-
50 ழப்பட்ட நீ
51 ஈ ப-யும் ஆக-
52 த்தடி இரண்-
53 டினால் நிலம்
54 ஈ ப-யும் னை
55 அம்பலத்து-
56 க்கு விட்டு குந்-
57 த்தா[ன்] நில-
58 ம் காடும்
59 கரையும்
60 முருக்க[றை]
61 விழாகம் உ-
62 [டப்பட்ட] ந-
63 ரல்லெல்கை
64 உழப்பட்ட



Third face.

- 65 முருக்கறை விழாகம் பு-
66 ரையடம் மண்ணடங்-
67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-
68 ண்டினால் நிலம் ஈப-யும்
69 முருக்கறை விழாகம்
70 புரையடம்மும்[1*] ஷெ-
71 யார் கெட்டி முகி-
72 ச்ச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-
73 னனப்பிறமானமா-
74 க நிலம் ஈ ப-யும் புன-
75 ரையடம் ஒன்றும் த-

- 76 ானப் பிரமாணம்-
 77 ாக விட்டு கல்லும்
 78 வெட்டி நாட்டிக்கு-
 79 தித்தார்கள் [1*] தெவன்
 80 இரங் முதல் பெரும்
 81 பள்ளிச்சல் ஈச்ச-
 82 வரன் ஈச்சவரனு-
 83 ம் அய்யப்பன் மா-
 84 டப்பன் முதல் பெ-
 85 ரும் தானப்பிறமா-
 86 ணமாக பிரமாங்கு-
 87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெக்கு ஆக
 88 நிக்ஞம் குற்றிமரம் ஒன்றுங்
 89 கூட கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டி
 90 க்குடுத்த . . [1*] . . .
 91 க்கில் பொகிற . ண்டாம்
 92 நிலமும் புரையிடமும்
 93 யாவிச்சுக்கொண்டு த-
 94 [ன்]மம் இறுத்தினைபடி த-
 95 ண்ணிரும் [சுண்ணா] ம்பு-
 96 ம் குடுத்து அம்பலத்தில்
 97

Fourth face.

- 98 சாவடியும்
 99 கெட்டிப்பெ-
 100 ணிவைச்சு-
 101 கொண்டு இ-
 102 ருக்கையில்
 103 இந்நிலத்தினு-
 104 ம் புரையிட-
 105 த்தினு தடை-
 106 இடைக்க . .
 107 ருகில் ஷெ தெ-
 108 சத்து நாலு டெ-
 109 பருக கூடி த-
 110 டை தித்து குடு-
 111 க்குமாறும் [1*]இ-
 112 ந்தி[ல*]த்தினும் பு-
 113 ரயடத்தினும்
 114 யாதா ஒருவ-
 115 ர் ஆகிலும் இர-
 116 ண்டகம் நி[இ]-
 117 னக்கி[ன்ற]-பெர் டெ-
 118 கங்கைக்கரை-
 119 யில்[நி]ன்று
 120 காராம் ப-

- 121 காவக்கெ[ர*]-
 122 ன்ற தெழு-
 123 மும் [கைய]ெ-
 124 யத்துகொ-
 125 ள்ளுவாரா-
 126 கவும் [ர*]இப்ப-
 127 டி தம்மதித்து
 128 இந்நிலமும்
 129 புரயடமு-
 130 ம் தானப்பி-
 131 மமாணமா-
 132 க கல்வெட்டி
 133 கட்டிக்குடு-
 134
 135

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *i. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaṣī in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tiṭhi* of the first fortnight which had Mṛigaśīrsha-nakṣatra and Subhābrahma-yōga, Devaṇ-īraṇi, the accountant of Pudevūr, Iṇchuvāraṇ of Paḷlichehal and Pollāpillai *alias* Pillaiyāṇ, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Pudevūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land:—

(i) The paddy-yielding land called Murukkarai fed by the tank in Pudevūr-deśam, 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kurunī*,

(ii) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* watered by Kaṇḍachchaikulam and obtained from Orattap-Nārāyaṇaṇ, the son of Pillaiyāṇ, *i. e.*, the three *kurunī* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śeṇamparai.

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī* and the land called the Murukkarai, which is 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunī*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurunī*; these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *vilam*, *kāḍu*, *karai*, Murukkarai-vilāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyidam* called the Murukkarai-vilāgam-puraiyidam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurunī* comprised in two *taḍi* and Murukkarai-vilāgam-puraiyidam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Devaṇ-īraṇi, Iṇchuvāraṇ-Iṇchuvāraṇ of Paḷlichehal, Ayyappaṇ-Maḍappaṇ and others also gave as charity the *kurri* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piramāṅguli.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyidam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunan, and . . . in a *chāvadi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyidam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *puraiyidam*, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Thus agreeing, these lands and *puraiyidam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up.

No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 628.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vatteluttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvidangodu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1096 M. E.—

"It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Vellāṇḍar and Vellālar from times earlier than the date of the record i. e., Kollam 628, Śittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangement of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Vellālar against the Vellāṇḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamil parts, that they should not be engaged even for coolly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation; and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Vellāṇḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍār* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz.*, that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamil country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Vellāṇḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Vellālar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore."

A similar record exists at Kallidaikkurichchi in the Tinnevely District.

Text.¹

- 1 வவ்வி ஸ்ரீ [11*] நன்ருக
- 2 கொல்லம் அலெட்டி
- 3 டாமாண்டு சித்திரை
- 4 மரதம் கூடமுன்-
- 5 இவ் நாட்டிய க-
- 6 ஸ்லு இரண்டு[லு]ம் வெ-

1 Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

- 7 ஸ்ளாழறை வெள்ளாட-
- 8 ர் பிழைக்கையாலே நாட்-
- 9 டிப கல்வினு படி எ-
- 10 டுத்தவண்ணமே இப்-
- 11 பொது வெள்ளா]ழறை வெ-
- 12 ஸ்ளாடார் பிழைக்க-
- 13 யாலே வெள்ளாடார்
- 14 தமிழ்ப் பாகத்துப் பெண்-
- 15 னை கெட்டருதென்றும்
- 16 கைய்யாளருதென்றும் ந-
- 17 ம்மொடுக்கூடக் கூ-
- 18 ஸிச்செவகம் செனிக்-
- 19 கருதென்றும் காரண-
- 20 ப்பட அருதென்றும்-
- 21 ம் காரியார் பறைய
- 22 அருதென்[*து]ம் கணக்கெ-
- 23 முகருதென்றும் தெச-
- 24 ம் கைய்யாள அரு-
- 25 தென்றும் கல்பி-
- 26 ச்சு [11*] பிழைச்சவர்-

(Second face.)

- 27 க் க பெர்-
- 28 வழி பறு
- 29 வன வகவ-
- 30 ன்ருளும்
- 31 அய்ய[ப*]பன்
- 32 மாத்தாண்டன-
- 33 ம் குமரன்
- 34 ராமனும் அ-
- 35 ய்யப்பா-
- 36 ண்டயும் மா-
- 37 த்தாண்ட மழு-
- 38 வராயனும்
- 39 [து]ம்பிச்சல்
- 40 மாத்தாண்ட ம-
- 41 முவராயனும்
- 42 நயபன் தொ-
- 43 ண்டைமாளும்
- 44 மெதொ மாத்தா-
- 45 ண்டபணிக்-
- 46 னும் காரை கு-
- 47 ன்றனும் கொட-
- 48 றுர் முதலியா-
- 49 னும் பர்ப்ப-
- 50 ன் பர்ப்பன் ம-
- 51 க்கள் இரண்டு

Third face.

- 52 பெரும் படைச்ச-
 53 ல முத்தையா னும்
 54 மாலையி னிரட-
 55 பர ஈச்சம்பி பெ-
 56 ரூர் நாயர் அய்யன்
 57 பாப்பனும் மாத்தாண்ட
 58 டனும் ஆருசெம்பி-
 59 பணிக்கனும் சடை-
 60 யன் கொதையும் வ-
 61 ளவன்(ன்) கண்ணனும்
 62 இமி[க]ம் முருகனும்
 63 தூவத்து இ[ராமன]ம்
 64 ஆகப்பெர் [உயிந.]ம கண்-
 65 [டு]ட்டத்து கொல்லுமாறு
 66 கல்பிச்சுது [11*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Be it well ! On this day, the 9th of the month of Sittirai in the Kollani year 628, as the Vellāṇaḍar offended the Vellālar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Vellāṇaḍar had offended the Vellālar:—

The Vellāṇaḍar should not marry girls from the Tamil parts: neither should they keep them. They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us. They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.—
 Suvāṅgaran; Ayyappaṇ-Mārttāṇḍan, Kumāraṇ-Rāmaṇ, Ayyappāṇḍai, Mārttāṇḍa-Maḷavarāyaṇ, Tumbichcha-Mārttāṇḍa Maḷavarāyaṇ, Nambāṇ-Tondaimaṇ, Śeḍo Mārttāṇḍa-Paṇikkaṇ, Kārai-Kuṇraṇ, Kōttur-Mudaliyaṇ, Parpaṇ; the two sons of Parpaṇ-Padiachchul-Muttaiyaṇ, Maḷambi, Nirappara-Ichchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar, Ayyaṇ-Pappaṇ, Mārttāṇḍan, Ārusembi-Paṇikkaṇ, Śaḍaiyaṇ-Kōḍai, Valavaṇ-Kaṇṇaṇ, Imigaṇ-Murugaṇ, Tūvattu Irāmaṇ

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen.

APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Śaka 1691, Kollam 945, Viśdhin, Arpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirādam śu. 7: = A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5; f.d.t. '03; '43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturnin Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7: = A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3; '76; (Rāvati '86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kani, Simha 9; Details not enough for verification; but the English date may cor- respond to A. D. 1102 August 4, Monday; ba. 4'16; 27'51.
56	Kollam 878, Idavam 7, Thursday, Rōhinī, śu. tritīyā: = A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day <i>tritīyā</i> commenced at '95 and Rōhinī was current till '29 only. 'Idavam 7 <i>senṇa</i> ' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Idav- am 8.
57	Kollam 878, Idavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ekādaśī: = A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f.d.t. '09; '76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Idavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mis- take.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makam, Meḍam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayō- daśī: = A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>nakshatra</i> were respectively ba. 10 '90; and 23'63.
86	Kollam 864, Mārgaśi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13: = A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>naksha- tra</i> were in 7'44 and 1 Bhad. 65; but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the <i>tithi</i> was śu. 13'88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from '33 of day.

No. 1—appeared in the *Modern Review* for October 23.

No. 5—appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 24.

